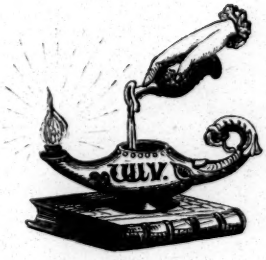
SALEM WITCHCRAFT.



SALEM WITCHCRAFT:

COMPRISING

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD,

Collected by ROBERT CALEF:

AND

WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD,

By COTTON MATHER:

Together with Notes and Explanations,

By SAMUEL P. FOWLER.

Boston:
WILLIAM VEAZIE.
MDCCCLXV.

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More Wonders

OF THE

INVISIBLE WORLD;

OR,

THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD DISPLAYED.

In Five Parts:

PART I. — An Account of the Sufferings of MARGARET RULE, written by the Rev. COTTON MATHER.

PART II. — Several Letters to the Author, &c., and his Reply relating to Witchcraft.

PART III. — The Differences between the Inhabitants of Salem Village, and Mr. PARRIS, their Minister, in New-England.

PART IV. — Letters of a Gentleman uninterested, endeavouring to prove the received Opinions about Witchcraft to be Orthodox. With short Essays to their Answers.

PART V. — A short Historical Account of Matters of Fact in that Affair.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A POSTSCRIPT,

Relating to a Book entitled "The Life of Sir William Phips."

COLLECTED BY ROBERT CALEF, MERCHANT,
Of Boston, in New-England.

Printed in *London*, A.D. 1700, and in 1796;
Reprinted in *Salem*, in 1823;
In *Boston*, 1828.

PREFACE.

ROBERT CALEF was a merchant in Boſton, and died in 1720. His "More Wonders of the Inviſible World" was firſt publiſhed in London, in a ſmall quarto volume, in 1700, and reprinted at Salem in 1796 and in 1823; another edition was issued in Boston in 1828. It is thought by ſome, that it was publiſhed in England on account of the unwillingneſs of publiſhers in Boſton to incur the wrath of the Mathers. But this is doubtful, as it was a common thing for authors to ſend over their manuſcripts to England to be publiſhed. Cotton Mather, in his diary,—alluding to the publiſhing of Calef's "More Wonders of the Inviſible World,"—ſays: "He ſent this vile volume to London to be publiſhed, and the book is printed, and the impreſſion is this

week arrived here. The books that I have ſent over into England, with a deſign to glorify the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, are not publiſhed, but ſtrangely delayed; and the books that are ſent over to vilify me, and render me incapable to glorify the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, —theſe are publiſhed. I ſet myſelf to humble myſelf before the Lord under theſe humbling and wondrous diſpenſations, and obtain the pardon of my ſins, that have rendered me worthy of ſuch diſpenſations." Dr. Elliot informs us that Dr. Increaſe Mather — who was then preſident of Harvard College — ordered the wicked book of Calef to be burnt in the college-yard, and that "It is worthy of obſervation, that Hutchinſon — who was nearly related to the Mather family — ſpeaks of R. Calef as a man of a fair mind, who ſubſtantiated his facts."

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER,

AND MORE ESPECIALLY TO THE NOBLE BARONS OF THIS AGE, WHEREVER RESIDING.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU, that are freed from the ſlavery of a corrupt education; and that, in ſpite of human precepts, example, and precedents, can hearken to the dictates of ſcripture and reaſon; for your ſakes I am content that theſe collections of mine, as alſo my ſentiments, ſhould be expoſed to public view; in hopes that, having well conſidered and compared them with ſcripture, you will ſee reaſon, as I do, to queſtion a belief ſo prevalent as that here treated of, as alſo the practice flowing from thence; they ſtanding as nearly connected as cauſe and effect; it being found wholly impracticable to extirpate the latter, without firſt curing the former. And if the buffoon or ſatirical will be exerciſing their talents, or if the bigots wilfully and blindly reject the teſtimonies of their own reaſon, and more

ſure word, it is no more than what I expected from them. But you, gentlemen, I doubt not, are willing to diſtinguiſh between truth and error; and if this may be any furtherance to you herein, I ſhall not miſs my aim. But if you find the contrary, and that my belief herein is any way heterodox, I ſhall be thankful for the information to any learned or reverend perſon, or others, that ſhall take that pains to inform me better, by ſcripture or ſound reaſon; which is what I have been long ſeeking for, in this country, in vain.

In a time when not only England in particular, but almoſt all Europe, had been labouring againſt the uſurpations of tyranny and ſlavery, the Engliſh America has not been behind in a ſhare of the common calamities; more eſpecially, New England has met not only with ſuch calamities as are common to the reſt, but with ſeveral aggravations enhancing ſuch afflictions, by the devaſtations and cruelties of the barbarous Indians in their eaſtern borders, &c. But this is not all; they have been haraſt (on many accounts) by a more dreadful enemy, as will herein appear to the conſiderate.

Were it, as we are told in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, "that the devils were walking about our ſtreets with lengthened chains, making a dreadful noiſe in our ears; and brimſtone

(even without a metaphor) was making a horrid and helliſh ſtench in our noſtrils;" and, "that the devil, exhibiting himſelf ordinarily as a black man, had decoyed a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures, to liſt themſelves in his horrid ſervice, by entering their names in a book tendered unto them; and that they have had their meetings and ſacraments, and aſſociated themſelves to deſtroy the kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in theſe parts of the world; having each of them their ſpectres, or devils, commiſſioned by them, and repreſenting of them to be the engines of their malice, by theſe wicked ſpectres ſeizing poor people about the country, with various and bloody torments, and of thoſe evidently preternatural torments ſome have died; and that they have bewitched ſome even ſo far as to make them ſelf-deſtroyers, and others in many towns here and there languiſhed under their evil hands—the people, thus afflicted, miſerably ſcratched and bitten; and that the ſame inviſible furies did ſtick pins in them, and ſcald them, diſtort and diſjoint them, with a thouſand other plagues; and ſometimes drag them out of their chambers, and carry them over trees and hills, miles together, many of them being tempted to ſign the devil's laws"—"thoſe furies, whereof ſeveral have killed more people perhaps than would

ſerve to make a village"—If this be the true ſtate of the afflictions of this country, it is very deplorable, and beyond all other outward calamities miſerable. But if, on the other ſide, the matter be, as others do underſtand it, that the devil has been too hard for us by his temptations, ſigns, and lying wonders, with the help of pernicious notions, formerly imbibed and profeſſed; together with the accuſations of a parcel of poſſeſſed, diſtracted or lying wenches,* accuſing their innocent neighbours, pretending they ſee their ſpectres, i. e. devils in their likeneſs, afflicting of them; and that God in righteous judgment (after men had aſcribed his power to witches, of commiſſioning devils to do theſe things) may have given them over to ſtrong deluſions to believe lies, &c., and to let looſe the devils of envy, hatred, pride, cruelty and malice againſt each other, yet ſtill diſguiſed under the maſk of zeal for God, and left them to the branding one another with the odious name of witch; and upon the accuſation of thoſe above mentioned, brother to accuſe and proſecute brother, children their parents, paſtors and teachers their immediate flock, unto death; ſhepherds becoming wolves; wiſe men infatuated; people hauled to priſons; with a bloody

* The circle of accuſing girls at Salem Village.

noiſe purſüing to, and inſulting over the (true) ſufferers at, execution; while ſome are fleeing from that called juſtice, juſtice itſelf fleeing before ſuch accuſations, when once it did but begin to refrain further proceedings; and, to queſtion ſuch practices, ſome making their eſcape out of priſons, rather than by an obſtinate defence of their innocency to run ſo apparent hazard of their lives; eſtates ſeized, families of children and others left to the mercy of the wilderneſs (not to mention here the numbers proſcribed, dead in priſons or executed, &c.)—All which tragedies, though begun in one town, or rather by one pariſh, has plague-like ſpread more than through that country, and by its echo giving a brand of infamy to this whole country throughout the world:—If this were the miſerable caſe of this country in the time thereof, and that the devil had ſo far prevailed upon us, in our ſentiments and actions, as to draw us from ſo much as looking into the ſcriptures for our guidance in theſe pretended intricacies; leading us to a truſting in blind guides, ſuch as the corrupt practices of ſome other countries, or the bloody experiments of Bodin,* and ſuch other authors; —then, though our caſe be moſt miſerable, yet

* John Bodin was a Frenchman, and the author of "Demonomania." Dr. Harſenet, Archbiſhop of York, informs us "that his Brain was the Theatre and Sport-Houſe for the Devils to dance

it muſt be ſaid of New-England, thou haſt deſtroyed thyſelf, and brought this greateſt of miſeries upon thee.

And now, whether the witches (ſuch as have made a compact by explicit covenant with the devil, having thereby obtained a power to commiſſion him,) have been the cauſe of our miſeries; or whether a zeal, governed by blindneſs and paſſion and led by precedent, has not herein precipitated us into far greater wickedneſs (if not witchcrafts) than any have yet been proved againſt thoſe that ſuffered:—to be able to diſtinguiſh aright in this matter, to which of theſe two to refer our miſeries, is the deſign of the preſent work.

As to the former, I know of no ſober man, much leſs reverend chriſtian, that, being aſked, dares affirm, and abide by it, that witches have that power, viz. to commiſſion devils to kill and deſtroy; and as to the latter, it were well if there were not too much of truth in it, which remains to be demonſtrated.

in. That he believed that a Witch, by Ointment and Charms, may transform herſelf into the ſhape of any Beaſt, Bird or Fiſh.—And that Bodin relates a ſtory of an Egg, which a Witch ſold to an Engliſhman, and by the ſame transformed him into an Aſs, and made him her Market-Mule three years, to ride on to buy Butter; and how at laſt ſhe remorphized him into the Native Shape of a Man again." This experiment of the witch in furniſhing herſelf with a market beaſt is certainly novel and queer, and has not been attained as yet by any ſpiritual manifeſtation of the preſent day.

But here it will be ſaid, What need of raking in the coals that lay buried in oblivion? We cannot recal thoſe to life again, that have ſuffered, ſuppoſing it were unjuſtly; it tends but to the expoſing the actors, as if they had proceeded irregularly.

Truly I take this to be juſt as the devil would have it, ſo much to fear diſobliging men, as not to endeavour to detect his wiles, that ſo he may the ſooner, and with the greater advantages, ſet the ſame on foot again (either here or elſewhere), ſo dragging us through the pond twice by the ſame cat. And, if reports do not herein deceive us, much the ſame has been acting this preſent year in Scotland. And what kingdom or country is it, that has not had their bloody fits and turns at it? And if this is ſuch a catching diſeaſe and ſo univerſal, I preſume I need make no apology for my endeavours to prevent, as far as in my power, any more ſuch bloody victims or ſacrifices; though indeed I had rather any other would have undertaken ſo offenſive, though neceſſary, a taſk; yet, all things weighed, I had rather thus expoſe myſelf to cenſure, than that it ſhould be wholly omitted. Were the notions in queſtion innocent and harmleſs, reſpecting the glory of God, and well-being of men, I ſhould not have engaged in them; but finding them, in my eſteem, ſo intolerably deſtructive of both,

this, together with my being by warrant called before the juſtices, in my own juſt vindication I took it to be a call from God, to my power, to vindicate his truths, againſt the pagan and popiſh aſſertions which are ſo prevalent; for though chriſtians in general do own the ſcriptures to be their only rule of faith and doctrine, yet theſe notions will tell us, that the ſcriptures have not ſufficiently, nor at all deſcribed the crime of witchcraft, whereby the culpable might be detected, though it be poſitive in the command to puniſh it by death; hence the world has been from time to time perplexed, in the proſecution of the ſeveral diabolical mediums of heatheniſh and popiſh invention to detect an imaginary crime (not but that there are witches ſuch as the law of God deſcribes) which has produced a deluge of blood; hereby rendering the commands of God not only void but dangerous.

So alſo they own God's providence and government of the world; and that tempeſts and ſtorms, afflictions and diſeaſes, are of his ſending; yet theſe notions tell us, that the devil has the power of all theſe, and can perform them when commiſſioned by a witch thereto; and that he has a power, at the witch's call, to act and do, without and againſt the courſe of nature, and all natural cauſes, in afflicting and killing of innocents; and this it is that ſo many have died for.

Alſo it is generally believed, that if any man has ſtrength, it is from God the Almighty Being: but theſe notions will tell us, that the devil can make one man as ſtrong as many; which was one of the beſt proofs, as it was counted, againſt Mr. Burroughs the miniſter; though his contemporaries in the ſchools, during his minority, could have teſtified, that his ſtrength was then as much ſuperior to theirs as ever (ſetting aſide incredible romances) it was diſcovered to be ſince: thus rendering the power of God, and his providence, of none effect.

Theſe are ſome of the deſtructive notions of this age; and however the aſſerters of them ſeem ſometimes to value themſelves much upon ſheltering their neighbours from ſpectral accuſations, they may deſerve as much thanks as that tyrant, that, having induſtriouſly obtained an unintelligible charge againſt his ſubjects, in matters wherein it was impoſſible they ſhould be guilty, having thereby their lives in his power, yet ſuffers them of his mere grace to live, and will be called gracious lord.

It were too Icarian a taſk for one, unfurniſhed with neceſſary learning, and library, to give any juſt account from whence ſo great deluſions have ſprung, and ſo long continued. Yet, as an eſſay from thoſe ſcraps of reading that I have had opportunity of, it will be no great venture

to ſay, that ſigns and lying wonders have been one principal cauſe.

It is written of Juſtin Martyr, who lived in the ſecond century, that he was before his converſion a great philoſopher; firſt in the way of the ſtoicks, and after, of the peripateticks, after that of the pythagorean, and after that of the platoniſt, ſects; and after all proved of eminent uſe in the church of Chriſt: yet a certain author, ſpeaking of one Apollonius Tyaneus, has theſe words: "That the moſt orthodox themſelves began to deem him veſted with power ſufficient for a deity; which occaſioned that ſo ſtrange a doubt from Juſtin Martyr, as cited by the learned Gregory, fol. 37: If God be the creator and lord of the world, how comes it to paſs that Apollonius his teliſms have ſo much over-ruled the courſe of things? for we ſee that they alſo have ſtilled the waves of the ſea, and the raging of the winds, and prevailed againſt the noiſome flies, and incurſions of wild beaſts, &c." If ſo eminent and early a chriſtian were by theſe falſe ſhews in ſuch doubt, it is the leſs wonder, in our depraved times, to meet with what is equivalent thereto. Beſides this, a certain author informs me, that Julian (afterwards called the apoſtate) being inſtructed in the philoſophy and diſciplines of the heathen, by Libarius his tutor, by this means he came to love philoſophy better than

the goſpel, and ſo by degrees turned from chriſtianity to heatheniſm."

This ſame Julian did, when apoſtate, forbid that chriſtians ſhould be inſtructed in the diſcipline of the gentiles; which, it ſeems, Socrates, a writer of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, does acknowledge to be by the ſingular providence of God; chriſtians having then begun to degenerate from the goſpel, and to betake themſelves to heatheniſh learning. And in the Mercury for the month of February, 1695, there is this account, "That the chriſtian doctors, converſing much with the writings of the heathen, for the gaining of eloquence, a council was held at Carthage, which forbad the reading of the books of the gentiles."

From all which it may be eaſily perceived, that in the primitive times of chriſtianity, when not only many heathen of the vulgar, but alſo many learned men and philoſophers, had embraced the chriſtian faith, they ſtill retained a love to their heathen learning; which, as one obſerves, being tranſplanted into a chriſtian ſoil, ſoon proved productive of pernicious weeds, which overran the face of the church; hence it was ſo deformed, as the reformation found it.

Among other pernicious weeds ariſing from this root, the doctrine of the power of devils,

and witchcraft, as it is now and long has been underſtood, is not the leaſt: the fables of Homer, Virgil, Horace and Ovid, &c. being for the elegancy of their language retained then (and ſo are to this day) in the ſchools, have not only introduced, but eſtabliſhed, ſuch doctrines, to the poiſoning the chriſtian world. A certain author expreſſes it thus: "That as the chriſtian ſchools at firſt brought men from heatheniſm to the goſpel, ſo theſe ſchools carry men from the goſpel to heatheniſm, as to their great perfection." And Mr. I. M. in his *Remarkable Providences*, gives an account, that (as he calls it) an old council did anathematize all thoſe that believed ſuch power of the devils, accounting it a damnable doctrine. But as other evils did afterwards increaſe in the church (partly by ſuch education) ſo this inſenſibly grew up with them, though not to that degree as that any council, I have ever heard or read of, has to this day taken off thoſe anathemas; yet after this the church ſo far declined that witchcraft became a principal eccleſiaſtical engine (as alſo that of hereſy was) to root up all that ſtood in their way; and beſides the ways of trial that we have ſtill in practice, they invented ſome which were peculiar to themſelves; which, whenever they were minded to improve againſt any orthodox believer, they could eaſily make effectual. That deluge of blood,

which that Scarlet Whore has to anſwer for, ſhed under this notion, how amazing is it!

The firſt in England, that I have read of, of any note, ſince the reformation, that aſſerts this doctrine, is the famous Mr. Perkins: he, as alſo Mr. Gaul, Mr. Bernard, &c. ſeem all of them to have undertaken one taſk; taking notice of the multiplicity of irregular ways to try them by, invented by heathen and papiſts, they made it their buſineſs, and main work, herein to oppoſe ſuch as they ſaw to be pernicious. And if they did not look more narrowly into it, but followed the firſt, viz. Mr. Perkins, whoſe education (as theirs alſo) had foreſtalled him into ſuch belief, whom they readily followed, it cannot be wondered at. And that they were men liable to err, and ſo not to be truſted to as perfect guides, will manifeſtly appear to him that ſhall ſee their ſeveral receipts laid down to detect them, by their preſumptive and poſitive ones; and conſider how few of either have any foundation in ſcripture, or reaſon; and how vaſtly they differ from each other in both; each having his art by himſelf, which forty or an hundred more may as well imitate, and give theirs, *ad infinitum*, being without all manner of proof. But though this be their main deſign, to take off people from thoſe evil and bloody ways of trial, which they ſpeak ſo much againſt; yet this does not

hinder, to this day, but the ſame evil ways, or as bad, are ſtill uſed to detect them by, and that even among proteſtants; and are ſo far juſtified, that a reverend perſon has ſaid lately here, How elſe ſhall we detect witches? And another, being urged to prove by ſcripture ſuch a ſort of witch as has power to ſend devils to kill men, replied, that he did as firmly believe it, as any article of his faith; and that he (the inquirer) did not go to the ſcriptures to learn the myſteries of his trade or art. What can be ſaid more to eſtabliſh their heatheniſh notions, and to vilify the ſcriptures, our only rule? and that, after we have ſeen ſuch dire effects thereof, as has threatened the utter extirpation of this whole country.

And as to moſt of the actors in theſe tragedies, though they are ſo far from defending their actions, that they will readily own that undue ſteps have been taken, &c. yet it ſeems they chooſe that the ſame ſhould be acted over again, enforced by their example, rather than it ſhould remain as a warning to poſterity, as herein they have miſt it. So far are they from giving glory to God, and taking the due ſhame to themſelves.

And now, to ſum up all in a few words, we have ſeen a bigoted zeal ſtirring up a blind and moſt bloody rage, not againſt enemies, or irreligious, profligate perſons; but (in judgment of

charity, and to view) againſt as virtuous and religious as any they have left behind them in this country, which have ſuffered as evil doers (with the utmoſt extent of rigour, not that ſo high a character is due to all that ſuffered) and this by the teſtimony of vile varlets,* as not only were known before, but have been further apparent ſince, by their manifeſt lives, whoredoms, inceſt, &c. The accuſations of theſe, from their ſpectral ſight, being the chief evidence againſt thoſe that ſuffered; in which accuſations they were upheld by both magiſtrates and miniſters, ſo long as they apprehended themſelves in no danger.

And then, though they could defend neither the doctrine nor the practice, yet none of them have, in ſuch a public manner as the caſe requires, teſtified againſt either; though at the ſame time they could not but be ſenſible what a ſtain and laſting infamy they have brought upon the whole country, to the endangering the future welfare not only of this but of other places, induced by their example; if not to an entailing the guilt of all the righteous blood that has been by the ſame means ſhed, by heathen or

* In the Act to reverſe the Attainders of Geo. Burroughs, paſſed in 1711, it is ſaid "that ſome of the principal accuſers and witneſſes in the dark and ſevere proſecutions of 1692, have ſince diſcovered themſelves to be perſons of profligate and vicious converſation."

papiſts, &c. upon themſelves, whoſe deeds they have ſo far juſtified, occaſioning the great diſhonour and blaſphemy of the name of God, ſcandalizing the heathen, hardening of enemies; and, as a natural effect thereof, to the great increaſe of atheiſm.

I ſhall conclude, only with acquainting the reader, that of theſe collections, the firſt, containing More Wonders of the Inviſible World,*

* The Proceedings of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society, in their 1ſt vol., page 288, inform us that "Calef was furniſhed with materials for his work by Mr. Brattle of Cambridge and his brother of Boſton, and other gentlemen who were oppoſed to the *Salem* proceedings." That the judges ſought the advice and countenance of the leading miniſters we have ſufficient proof; alſo that the principal examining magiſtrates, John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin, when faltering in their courſe at the multiplicity of the complaints from diſtreſſed perſons, occaſioned by ſuppoſed witchcraft, were cheered on in their proſecutions by receiving ſuch letters of commendation from the principal inhabitants of Salem Village as the following: —

Theſe to the Honered John Hathorne and Jonathan Corwin Eſquires — Lieuing at Salem preſent.

Salem Village this 21ſt of April 1692 —

Much Honered — After moſt humble and hearty thanks preſented to your Honrs. for the great care and paines you have already taken for us, for which you know we are never able to make you Recompence, and we believe you do not expect it of us, therefore a full reward be given you of the Lord God of Iſrael, whoſe cauſe and intereſt you have eſpouſed, and we truſt this ſhall add to your Crown of Glory in the day of the Lord Jeſus — And we beholding continually the tremendious works of Divine Providence, not only every

I received of a gentleman, who had it of the author, and communicated it to uſe, with his expreſs conſent, of which this is a true copy. As to the letters, they are, for ſubſtance, the ſame I ſent, though with ſome ſmall variation, or addition. Touching the two letters from a gentleman, at his requeſt I have forborn naming him. It is great pity that the matters of fact, and indeed the whole, had not been done by ſome abler hand, better accompliſhed, and with the advantages of both natural and acquired judgment; but others not appearing, I have enforced myſelf to do what is done; my other occaſions will not admit any further ſcrutiny therein. R. C.

Auguſt 11, 1697.

day but every hour; thought it our duty to Inform your Honors of that we conceive you have not heard, which are high and dreadful, of a wheel within a wheel, at which our ears do tingle — Humbly craving continually your prayers and help in this diſtreſſed caſe; So praying Almighty God continually to prepare you, that you may be a terror to evil doers, and a praiſe to them that do well — We remain yours to ſerve in what we are able

THOMAS PUTNAM —

The author of the above letter is the worthy pariſh clerk of Salem Village; and what probably cauſed his ears to tingle, was the ſuſpicion which began to be entertained againſt George Burroughs, his former miniſter, of being a wizard. Nine days after the date of his letter, April 30, 1692, Jonathan Walcott and Thomas Putnam made complaint againſt Burroughs to the Salem magiſtrates.

PART I.

ACCOUNT OF THE SUFFERINGS OF MARGARET RULE.

SIR,

I NOW lay before you a very entertaining ſtory — a ſtory which relates yet more Wonders of the Inviſible World — a ſtory which tells the remarkable afflictions and deliverance of one that had been prodigiouſly handled by the Evil Angels. I was myſelf a daily eye-witneſs to a large part of theſe occurrences, and there may be produced ſcores of ſubſtantial witneſſes to the moſt of them; yea, I know not of any one paſſage of the ſtory but what may be ſufficiently atteſted. I do not

write it with a deſign of throwing it preſently into the preſs, but only to preſerve the memory of ſuch memorable things, the forgetting whereof would neither be pleaſing to God, nor uſeful to men; as alſo to give you, with ſome others of peculiar and obliging friends, a ſight of ſome curioſities. And I hope this apology will ſerve to excuſe me, if I mention, as perhaps I may, when I come to a tenth paragraph in my writing, ſome things which I would have omitted in a farther publication.

COTTON MATHER.

ANOTHER BRAND

PLUCKT OUT OF THE BURNING,

OR

MORE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

SECT. 1. WITHIN theſe few years, there died in the ſouthern parts, a chriſtian Indian, who, notwithſtanding ſome of his Indian weakneſs, had ſomething of a better character, of virtue and goodneſs, than many of our people can allow to moſt of their countrymen, that profeſs the chriſtian religion. He had been a zealous preacher of the goſpel to his neighbourhood, and a ſort of overſeer or officer, to whoſe conduct was owing very much of what good order was maintained among theſe proſelyted ſavages. This man, returning home from the funeral of his ſon, was complimented by an Engliſhman, expreſſing ſorrow for his loſs. Now, though the Indians uſed upon the death of relations to be the moſt paſſionate and outrageous creatures

in the world, yet this converted Indian handſomely and cheerfully replied, Truly I am ſorry, and I am not ſorry: I am ſorry that I have buried a dear ſon; but I am not ſorry that the will of God is done: I know that without the will of God my ſon could not have died; and I know that the will of God is always juſt and good, and ſo I am ſatisfied. Immediately upon this, even within a few hours, he fell himſelf ſick, of a diſeaſe that quickly killed him; in the time of which diſeaſe, he called his folks about him, earneſtly perſuading them to be ſincere in their praying unto God, and to beware of the drunkenneſs, the idleneſs, the lying, whereby ſo many of that nation diſgraced their profeſſion of chriſtianity; adding, that he was aſhamed, when he thought how little ſervice he had hitherto done for God; and, that if God would prolong his life, he would labour to do better ſervice; but that he was fully ſure he was now going to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who had bought him with his precious blood; and for his part, he longed to die, that he might be with his glorious Lord; and, in the midſt of ſuch paſſages, he gave up the ghoſt; but in ſuch repute, that the Engliſh people, of good faſhion, did not think much of travelling a great way to his interment. Leſt my reader do wonder why I have related this piece of a ſtory, I will now haſten to abate

that wonder, by telling that whereto this was intended but for an introduction. Know then, that this remarkable Indian being, a little before he died, at work in the wood, making of tar, there appeared unto him a black man, of a terrible aſpect, and more than human dimenſions, threatening bitterly to kill him, if he would not promiſe to leave off preaching, as he did, to his countrymen, and promiſe particularly, that if he preached any more, he would ſay nothing of Jeſus Chriſt unto them. The Indian was amazed, yet had the courage to anſwer, I will, in ſpite of you, go on to preach Chriſt, more than ever I did; and the God whom I ſerve will keep me, that you ſhall never hurt me. Hereupon the apparition, abating ſomewhat of his fierceneſs, offered to the Indian a book of a conſiderable thickneſs, and a pen and ink, and ſaid, that if he would now ſet his hand unto that book, he would require nothing further of him; but the man refuſed the motion with indignation, and fell down upon his knees into a fervent and pious prayer unto God, for help againſt the tempter; whereupon the demon vaniſhed.

This is a ſtory which I would never have tendered unto my reader, if I had not received it from an honeſt and uſeful Engliſhman, who is at this time a preacher of the goſpel to the Indians; nor would the probable truth of it have

encouraged me to have tendered it, if this alſo had not been a fit introduction unto a yet further narrative.

SECT. 2. It was not much above a year or two after this accident (of which no manner of noiſe has been made) that there was a prodigious deſcent of devils upon divers places near the centre of this province; wherein ſome ſcores of miſerable people were troubled by horrible appearances of a black man, accompanied with ſpectres, wearing theſe and thoſe human ſhapes, who offered them a book to be by them ſigned, in token of their being liſted for the ſervice of the devil; and, upon their denying to do it, they were dragooned with a thouſand preternatural torments, which gave no little terror to the beholders of theſe unhappy people. There was one in the north part of Boſton ſeized by the evil angels many months after the general ſtorm of the late enchantments was over, and when the country had long lain very quiet, both as to moleſtations and accuſations from the inviſible world: her name was Margaret Rule, a young woman: ſhe was born of ſober and honeſt parents, yet living; but what her own character was before her viſitation I can ſpeak with the leſs confidence of exactneſs, becauſe I obſerve that wherever the devils have been let looſe, to worry any poor creature among us, a great part

of the neighbourhood preſently ſet themſelves to inquire, and relate all the little vanities of their childhood, with ſuch unequal exaggerations, as to make them appear greater ſinners than any whom the pilot of hell has not yet preyed upon. But it is affirmed, that, for about half a year before her viſitation, ſhe was obſerv ably improved in the hopeful ſymptoms of a new creature; ſhe was become ſeriouſly concerned for the everlaſting ſalvation of her ſoul, and careful to avoid the ſnares of evil company. This young woman had never ſeen the afflictions of Mercy Short, whereof a narrative has been already given; and yet, about half a year after the glorious and ſignal deliverance of that poor damſel, this Margaret fell into an affliction, marvellous, reſembling hers in almoſt all the circumſtances of it; indeed the afflictions were ſo much alike, that the relation I have given of the one, would almoſt ſerve as the full hiſtory of the other; this was to that little more than the ſecond part of the ſame tune; indeed Margaret's caſe was in ſeveral points leſs remarkable than Mercy's, and in ſome other things the entertainment did a little vary.

Sect. 3. It was upon the Lord's day, the 10th of September, in the year 1693, that Margaret Rule, after ſome hours of previous diſturbance in the public aſſembly, fell into odd fits,

which cauſed her friends to carry her home, where her fits in a few hours grew into a figure that ſatisfied the ſpectators of their being preternatural. Some of the neighbours were forward enough to ſuſpect the riſe of this miſchief in an houſe hard by, where lived a miſerable woman, who had been formerly impriſoned, on the ſuſpicion of witchcraft, and who had frequently cured very painful hurts, by muttering over them certain charms, which I ſhall not endanger the poiſoning of my reader by repeating. This woman had, the evening before Margaret fell into her calamities, very bitterly treated her, and threatened her; but the hazard of hurting a poor woman, that might be innocent, notwithſtanding ſurmiſes that might have been more ſtrongly grounded than thoſe, cauſed the pious people in the vicinity to try, rather, whether inceſſant ſupplication to God alone might not procure a quicker and ſafer eaſe to the afflicted, than haſty proſecution of any ſuppoſed criminal; and accordingly that unexceptionable courſe was all that was ever followed; yea, which I looked on as a token for good, the afflicted family was as averſe, as any of us, to entertain thoughts of any other courſe.

Sect. 4. The young woman was aſſaulted by eight cruel ſpectres, whereof ſhe imagined that ſhe knew three or four; but the reſt came

ſtill with their faces covered, ſo that ſhe could never have a diſtinguiſhed view of the countenance of thoſe whom ſhe thought ſhe knew; ſhe was very careful of my reiterated charges, to forbear blazing their names, leſt any good perſon ſhould come to ſuffer any blaſt of reputation, through the cunning malice of the great accuſer; nevertheleſs, having ſince privately named them to myſelf, I will venture to ſay this of them, that they are a ſort of wretches, who for theſe many years have gone under as violent preſumptions of witchcraft, as perhaps any creatures yet living upon earth; although I am far from thinking that the viſions of this young woman were evidence enough to prove them ſo. Theſe curſed ſpectres now brought unto her a book about a cubit long—a book red and thick, but not very broad; and they demanded of her, that ſhe would ſet her hand to that book, or touch it at leaſt with her hand, as a ſign of her becoming a ſervant of the devil. Upon her peremptory refuſal to do what they aſked, they did not after renew the proffers of the book unto her, but inſtead thereof they fell to tormenting of her in a manner too helliſh to be ſufficiently deſcribed — in thoſe torments confining her to her bed for juſt ſix weeks together.

Sect. 5. Sometimes, but not always, togeth-

er with the ſpectres, there looked in upon the young woman (according to her account) a ſhort and a black man, whom they called their maſter — a white, exactly of the ſame dimenſions and complexion and voice, with the devil that has exhibited himſelf unto other infeſted people, not only in other parts of this country, but alſo in other countries, even of the European world, as the relation of the enchantments there informs us. They all profeſt themſelves vaſſals of this devil, and in obedience unto him they addreſſed themſelves unto various ways of torturing her. Accordingly ſhe was cruelly pinched with inviſible hands, very often in a day, and the black and blue marks of the pinches became immediately viſible unto the ſtanders by. Beſides this, when her attendants had left her without ſo much as one pin about her, that ſo they might prevent ſome feared inconveniences, yet ſhe would every now and then be miſerably hurt with pins, which were found ſtuck into her neck, back and arms; however, the wounds made by the pins would in a few minutes ordinarily be cured; ſhe would alſo be ſtrangely diſtorted in her joints, and thrown into ſuch exorbitant convulſions as were aſtoniſhing unto the ſpectators in general. They that could behold the doleful condition of the poor family without ſenſible compaſſions, might have entrails indeed; but I

am ſure they could have no true bowels in them.

Sect. 6. It were a moſt unchriſtian and uncivil, yea, a moſt unreaſonable thing, to imagine, that the fits of the young woman were but mere impoſtures; and I believe ſcarce any but people of a particular dirtineſs will harbour ſuch an uncharitable cenſure. However, becauſe I know not how far the devil may drive the imagination of poor creatures, when he has poſſeſſion of them, that at another time, when they are themſelves, would ſcorn to diſſemble any thing, I ſhall now confine my narrative unto paſſages wherein there could be no room left for any diſſimulation. Of theſe, the firſt that I'll mention ſhall be this: From the time that Margaret Rule firſt found herſelf to be formally beſieged by the ſpectres, until the ninth day following, namely, from the 10th of September to the 18th, ſhe kept an entire faſt, and yet ſhe was unto all appearance as freſh, as lively, as hearty, at the nine days end, as before they began; in all this time, though ſhe had a very eager hunger upon her ſtomach, yet, if any refreſhment were brought unto her, her teeth would be ſet, and ſhe would be thrown into many miſeries; indeed once or twice or ſo in all this time, her tormentors permitted her to ſwallow a mouthful of ſomewhat that might increaſe her miſeries,

whereof a ſpoonful of rum was the moſt conſiderable; but otherwiſe, as I ſaid, her faſt unto the ninth day was very extreme and rigid: however, afterwards there ſcarce paſſed a day wherein ſhe had not liberty to take ſomething or other for her ſuſtentation. And I muſt add this, further, that this buſineſs of her faſt was carried ſo, that it was impoſſible to be diſſembled without a combination of multitudes of people, unacquainted with one another, to ſupport the juggle; but he that can imagine ſuch a thing of a neighbourhood, ſo filled with virtuous people, is a baſe man — I cannot call him any other.

Sect. 7. But if the ſufferings of this young woman were not impoſture, yet might they not be pure diſtemper? I will not here inquire of our ſadducees, what ſort of a diſtemper it is, that ſhall ſtick the body full of pins without any hand that could be ſeen to ſtick them; or whether all the pin-makers in the world would be willing to be evaporated into certain ill habits of body, producing a diſtemper; but of the diſtemper my reader ſhall be judge, when I have told him ſomething further of thoſe unuſual ſufferings. I do believe that the evil angels do often take advantage, from natural diſtempers in the children of men, to annoy them with ſuch further miſchiefs, as we call preternatural. The malignant vapours and humours of our diſeaſed

bodies may be uſed by devils, thereinto inſinuating as engines of the execution of their malice upon thoſe bodies; and perhaps, for this reaſon, one ſex may ſuffer more troubles of ſome kinds from the inviſible world than the other; as well as for that reaſon, for which the old ſerpent made, where he did, his firſt addreſs. But I pray, what will you ſay to this? Margaret Rule would ſometimes have her jaws forcibly pulled open, whereupon ſomething inviſible would be poured down her throat; we all ſaw her ſwallow, and yet we ſaw her try all ſhe could, by ſpitting, coughing and ſhrieking, that ſhe might not ſwallow; but one time the ſtanders-by plainly ſaw ſomething of that odd liquor itſelf on the outſide of her neck: ſhe cried out of it, as of ſcalding brimſtone poured into her, and the whole houſe would immediately ſcent ſo hot of brimſtone that we were ſcarce able to endure it — whereof there are ſcores of witneſſes; but the young woman herſelf would be ſo monſtrouſly inflamed, that it would have broke a heart of ſtone to have ſeen her agonies. This was a thing that ſeveral times happened; and ſeveral times, when her mouth was thus pulled open, the ſtanders-by clapping their hands cloſe thereupon, the diſtreſſes that otherwiſe followed would be diverted. Moreover there was a whitiſh powder, to us inviſible, ſometimes caſt

upon the eyes of this young woman, whereby her eyes would be extremely incommoded; but one time ſome of this powder was fallen actually viſible upon her cheek, from whence the people in the room wiped it with their handkerchiefs; and ſometimes the young woman would alſo be ſo bitterly ſcorched with the unſeen ſulphur thrown upon her, that very ſenſible bliſters would be raiſed upon her ſkin, whereto her friends found it neceſſary to apply the oils proper for common burnings; but the moſt of theſe hurts would be cured in two or three days at fartheſt. I think I may without vanity pretend to have read not a few of the beſt ſyſtems of phyſick that have been yet ſeen in theſe American regions, but I muſt confeſs that I have never yet learned the name of the natural diſtemper whereto theſe odd ſymptoms do belong: however, I might ſuggeſt perhaps many a natural medicine which would be of ſingular uſe againſt many of them.

Sect. 8. But there fell out ſome other matters far beyond the reach of natural diſtemper. This Margaret Rule once in the middle of the night lamented ſadly that the ſpectres threatened the drowning of a young man in the neighbourhood, whom ſhe named unto the company: well, it was afterwards found that at that very time this young man, having been preſt on board

a man of war, then in the harbour, was out of ſome diſſatisfaction attempting to ſwim aſhore, and he had been drowned in the attempt, if a boat had not ſeaſonably taken him up; it was by computation a minute or two after the young woman's diſcourſe of the drowning, that the young man took the water. At another time ſhe told us, that the ſpectres bragged and laughed in her hearing about an exploit they had lately done, by ſtealing from a gentleman his will ſoon after he had written it; and within a few hours after ſhe had ſpoken this, there came to me a gentleman with a private complaint, that having written his will, it was unaccountably gone out of the way; how, or where, he could not imagine; and beſides all this, there were wonderful noiſes every now and then made about the room, which our people could aſcribe to no other authors but the ſpectres; yea, the watchers affirm, that they heard thoſe fiends clapping their hands together with an audibleneſs wherein they could not be impoſed upon; and once her tormentors pulled her up to the ceiling of the chamber, and held her there, before a very numerous company of ſpectators, who found it as much as they could all do to pull her down again. There was alſo another very ſurpriſing circumſtance about her, agreeable to what we have not only read in ſeveral hiſ-

tories concerning the imps that have been employed in witchcraft, but alſo known in ſome of our own afflicted: we once thought we perceived ſomething ſtir upon her pillow at a little diſtance from her; whereupon one preſent laying his hand there, he to his horror apprehended that he felt, though none could ſee it, a living creature not altogether unlike a rat, which nimbly eſcaped from him; and there were divers other perſons who were thrown into a great conſternation by feeling, as they judged, at other times, the ſame inviſible animal.

Sect. 9. As it has been with a thouſand other enchanted people, ſo it was with Margaret Rule in this particular, that there were ſeveral words which her tormentors would not let her hear, eſpecially the words Pray or Prayer, and yet ſhe could ſo hear the letters of thoſe words diſtinctly mentioned as to know what they meant. The ſtanders-by were forced ſometimes thus in diſcourſe to ſpell a word to her; but becauſe there were ſome ſo ridiculous as to count it a ſort of ſpell or a charm for any thus to accommodate themſelves to the capacity of the ſufferer, little of this kind was done. But that which was more ſingular in this matter was, that ſhe could not uſe theſe words in thoſe penetrating diſcourſes wherewith ſhe would ſometimes addreſs the ſpectres that were about

her. She would ſometimes for a long while together apply herſelf to the ſpectres, whom ſhe ſuppoſed the witches, with ſuch exhortations to repentance as would have melted an heart of adamant to have heard them; her ſtrains of expreſſion and argument were truly extraordinary; perſons perhaps of the beſt education and experience, and of attainments much beyond hers, could not have exceeded them; nevertheleſs, when ſhe came to theſe words, God, Lord, Chriſt, Good, Repent, and ſome other ſuch, her mouth could not utter them; whereupon ſhe would ſometimes, in an angry parentheſis, complain of their wickedneſs in ſtopping that word, but ſhe would then go on with ſome other terms that would ſerve to tell what ſhe meant. And I believe that if the moſt ſuſpicious perſon in the world had beheld all the circumſtances of this matter, he would have ſaid it could not have been diſſembled.

Sect. 10. Not only in the Swediſh, but alſo in the Salem witchcraft, the enchanted people have talked much of a white ſpirit, from whence they received marvellous aſſiſtances in their miſeries. What lately befel Mercy Short, from the communications of ſuch a ſpirit, hath been the juſt wonder of us all; but by ſuch a ſpirit was Margaret Rule now alſo viſited. She ſays that ſhe could never ſee his face; but that ſhe

had a frequent view of his bright, ſhining and glorious garments; he ſtood by her bed-ſide continually, heartening and comforting her, and counſelling her to maintain her faith and hope in God, and never comply with the temptations of her adverſaries. She ſays he told her, that God had permitted her afflictions to befal her for the everlaſting and unſpeakable good of her own ſoul, and for the good of many others, and for his own immortal glory; and that ſhe ſhould therefore be of good cheer, and be aſſured of a ſpeedy deliverance; and the wonderful reſolution of mind wherewith ſhe encountered her afflictions was but agreeable to ſuch expectations. Moreover, a miniſter having one day with ſome importunity prayed for the deliverance of this young woman, and pleaded that as ſhe belonged to his flock and charge, he had ſo far a right unto her as that he was to do the part of a miniſter of our Lord for the bringing of her home unto God, only now the devil hindered him in doing that which he had a right thus to do; and whereas he had a better title unto her to bring her home to God, than the devil could have unto her to carry her away from the Lord, he therefore humbly applied himſelf unto God, who alone could right this matter, with a ſuit that ſhe might be reſcued out of Satan's hands. Immediately upon this, though ſhe heard noth-

ing of this tranſaction, ſhe began to call that miniſter her father, and that was the name whereby ſhe every day before all ſorts of people diſtinguiſhed him. The occaſion of it ſhe ſays was this: the white ſpirit preſently upon this tranſaction did after this manner ſpeak to her: Margaret, you now are to take notice that ſuch a man is your father; God has given you to him; do you from this time look upon him as your father, obey him, regard him, as your father; follow his counſels, and you ſhall do well. And though there was one paſſage more, which I do as little know what to make of as any of the reſt, I am now going to relate it: more than three times have I ſeen it fulfilled in the deliverance of enchanted and poſſeſt perſons, whom the providence of God has caſt into my way, that their deliverance could not be obtained before the third faſt kept for them, and the third day ſtill obtained the deliverance; although I have thought of beſeeching of the Lord thrice, when buffeted by Satan: yet I muſt earneſtly entreat all my readers to beware of any ſuperſtitious conceits upon the number *three;* if our God will hear us upon once praying and faſting before him, it is well; and if he will not vouchſafe his mercy upon our thrice doing ſo, yet we muſt not be ſo diſcouraged as to throw by our devotion; but if the ſovereign

grace of our God will in any particular inſtances count our patience enough tried when we have ſolemnly waited upon him for any determinate number of times, who ſhall ſay to him, What doeſt thou? And if there ſhall be any number of inſtances wherein this grace of our God has exactly holden the ſame courſe, it may have a room in our humble obſervations, I hope, without any ſuperſtition. I ſay then that after Margaret Rule had been more than five weeks in her miſeries, this white ſpirit ſaid unto her, "Well, this day ſuch a man (whom he named) has kept a third day for your deliverance; now be of good cheer, you ſhall ſpeedily be delivered." I inquired whether what had been ſaid of that man was true, and I gained exact and certain information that it was preciſely ſo; but I doubt leſt in relating this paſſage that I have uſed more openneſs than a friend ſhould be treated with, and for that cauſe I have concealed ſeveral of the moſt memorable things that have occurred, not only in this but in ſome former hiſtories, although indeed I am not ſo well ſatisfied about the true nature of this white ſpirit, as to count that I can do a friend much honour by reporting what notice this white ſpirit may have thus taken of him.

Sect. 11. On the laſt day of the week her tormentors (as ſhe thought and ſaid) approach-

ing towards her, would be forced ſtill to recoil and retire as unaccountably, unable to meddle with her; and they would retire to the fire ſide with their poppets; but going to ſtick pins into thoſe poppets, they could not (according to their viſions) make the pins to enter. She inſulted over them with a very proper deriſion, daring them now to do their worſt, whilſt ſhe had the ſatisfaction to ſee their black maſter ſtrike them and kick them, like an overſeer of ſo many negroes, to make them to do their work, and renew the marks of his vengeance on them when they failed of doing it. At laſt, being as it were tired with their ineffectual attempts to mortify her, they furiouſly ſaid, "Well, you ſhan't be the laſt." And after a pauſe they added, "Go, and the devil go with you, we can do no more;" whereupon they flew out of the room, and ſhe, returning perfectly to herſelf, moſt affectionately gave thanks to God for her deliverance. Her tormentors left her extremely weak and faint, and overwhelmed with vapours, which would not only cauſe her ſometimes to ſwoon away, but alſo now and then for a little while diſcompoſe the reaſonableneſs of her thoughts. Nevertheleſs, her former troubles returned not; but we are now waiting to ſee the good effects of thoſe troubles upon the ſouls of all concerned. And now I ſuppoſe that ſome of our learned

witlings of the coffee-houſe, for fear leſt theſe proofs of an inviſible world ſhould ſpoil ſome of their ſport, will endeavour to turn them all into ſport; for which buffoonery their only pretence will be, "They can't underſtand how ſuch things as theſe could be done;" whereas indeed he that is but philoſopher enough to have read but one little treatiſe, publiſhed in the year 1656, by no other man than the chirurgeon of an army, or but one chapter of Helmont, which I will not quote at this time too particularly, may give a far more intelligible account of theſe appearances than moſt of theſe blades can give why and how their tobacco makes them ſpit, or which way the flame of their candle becomes illuminating. As for that cavil, "The world would be undone if the devils could have ſuch power as they ſeem to have in ſeveral of our ſtories," it may be anſwered, that as to many things, the lying devils have only known them to be done, and then pretended unto the doing of thoſe things; but the true and beſt anſwer is, that by theſe things we only ſee what the devils could have power to do, if the great God ſhould give them that power; whereas now our hiſtories afford a glorious evidence for the being of a God. The world would indeed be undone, and horribly undone, if theſe devils, who now and then get liberty to play ſome very miſchievous

pranks, were not under a daily reſtraint of ſome Almighty Superior from doing more of ſuch miſchiefs. Wherefore, inſtead of all apiſh ſhouts and jeers at hiſtories which have ſuch undoubted confirmation, as that no man that has breeding enough to regard the common laws of human ſociety, will offer to doubt of them, it becomes us rather to adore the goodneſs of God, who does not permit ſuch things every day to befal us all, as he ſometimes did permit to befal ſome few of our miſerable neighbours.

Sect. 12. And why, after all my unwearied cares and pains to reſcue the miſerable from the lions and bears of hell, which had ſeized them, and after all my ſtudies to diſappoint the devils in their deſigns to confound my neighbourhood, muſt I be driven to the neceſſity of an apology? Truly the hard repreſentations wherewith ſome ill men have reviled my conduct, and the countenance which other men have given to theſe repreſentations, oblige me to give mankind ſome account of my behaviour. No chriſtian can (I ſay none but evil workers can) criminate my viſiting ſuch of my poor flock as have at any time fallen under the terrible and ſenſible moleſtations of evil angels: let their afflictions have been what they will, I could not have anſwered it unto my glorious Lord, if I had withheld my juſt counſels and comforts from them; and if I

have alſo with ſome exactneſs obſerved the methods of the inviſible world, when they have thus become obſervable, I have been but a ſervant of mankind in doing ſo; yea, no leſs a perſon than the venerable Baxter has more than once or twice in the moſt publick manner invited mankind to thank me for that ſervice. I have not been inſenſible of a greater danger attending me in this fulfilment of my miniſtry, than if I had been to take ten thouſand ſteps over a rocky mountain filled with rattle-ſnakes; but I have conſidered, he that is wiſe will obſerve things; and the ſurpriſing explication and confirmation of the biggeſt part of the bible, which I have ſeen given in theſe things, has abundantly paid me for obſerving them. Now, in my viſiting of the miſerable, I was always of this opinion, that we were ignorant of what power the devils might have to do their miſchiefs in the ſhapes of some that had never been explicitly engaged in diabolical confederacies, and that therefore, though many witchcrafts had been fairly detected on inquiries provoked and begun by ſpectral exhibitions, yet we could not eaſily be too jealous of the ſnares laid for us in the devices of Satan. The world knows how many pages I have compoſed and publiſhed, and particular gentlemen in the government know how many letters I have written, to prevent the

exceſſive credit of ſpectral accuſations; wherefore I have ſtill charged the afflicted that they ſhould cry out of nobody for afflicting of them; but that, if this might be any advantage, they might privately tell their minds to ſome one perſon of diſcretion enough to make no ill uſe of their communications; accordingly there has been this effect of it, that the name of no one good perſon in the world ever came under any blemiſh by means of an afflicted perſon that fell under my particular cognizance; yea, no one man, woman or child ever came into any trouble for the ſake of any that were afflicted, after I had once begun to look after them. How often have I had this thrown into my diſh, "that many years ago I had an opportunity to have brought forth ſuch people as have in the late ſtorm of witchcraft been complained of, but that I ſmothered all; and after that ſtorm was raiſed at Salem, I did myſelf offer to provide meat, drink and lodging for no leſs than ſix of the afflicted, that ſo an experiment might be made, whether prayer with faſting, upon the removal of the diſtreſſed, might not put a period to the trouble then riſing, without giving the civil authority the trouble of proſecuting thoſe things which nothing but a conſcientious regard unto the cries of miſerable families could have overcome the reluctancies of the honourable judges

to meddle with." In ſhort, I do humbly but freely affirm it, that there is not a man living in this world who has been more deſirous than the poor man I to ſhelter my neighbours from the inconveniences of ſpectral outcries; yea, I am very jealous I have done ſo much that way, as to ſin in what I have done; ſuch have been the cowardice and fearfulneſs whereunto my regard unto the diſſatisfaction of other people has precipitated me. I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict ſome ſuch witches as ought to die; but his reſpect unto the publick peace has cauſed him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance; and as I have been ſtudious to defeat the devils of their expectations to ſet people together by the ears thus, I have alſo checked and quelled thoſe forbidden curioſities which would have given the devil an invitation to have tarried amongſt us, when I have ſeen wonderful ſnares laid for curious people, by the ſecret and future things diſcovered from the mouths of damſels poſſeſt with a ſpirit of divination. Indeed I can recollect but one thing wherein there could be given ſo much as a ſhadow of reaſon for exceptions, and that is, my allowing of ſo many to come and ſee thoſe that were afflicted. Now for that I have this to ſay, that I have almoſt a thouſand times entreated the friends of

the miſerable, that they would not permit the intruſion of any company, but ſuch as by prayers or other ways might be helpful to them; nevertheleſs I have not abſolutely forbid all company from coming to your haunted chambers; partly becauſe the calamities of the families were ſuch as required the aſſiſtance of many friends; partly becauſe I have been willing that there ſhould be diſintereſted witneſſes of all ſorts, to confute the calumnies of ſuch as would ſay all was but impoſture; and partly becauſe I ſaw God had ſanctified the ſpectacle of the miſeries on the afflicted unto the ſouls of many that were ſpectators; and it is a very glorious thing that I have now to mention: The devils have with moſt horrid operations broke in upon our neighbourhood, and God has at ſuch a rate overruled all the fury and malice of thoſe devils, that all the afflicted have not only been delivered, but I hope alſo ſavingly brought home unto God, and the reputation of no one good perſon in the world has been damaged; but inſtead thereof the ſouls of many, eſpecially of the riſing generation, have been thereby awakened unto ſome acquaintance with religion; our young people, who belonged unto the praying meetings, of both ſexes, apart, would ordinarily ſpend whole nights by whole weeks together in prayers and pſalms upon theſe occaſions, in which devotions the

devils could get nothing, but, like fools, a ſcourge for their own backs; and ſome ſcores of other young people, who were ſtrangers to real piety, were now ſtruck with the lively demonſtrations of hell evidently ſet forth before their eyes, when they ſaw perſons cruelly frighted, wounded and ſtarved by devils, and ſcalded with burning brimſtone; and yet ſo preſerved in this tortured ſtate, as that, at the end of one month's wretchedneſs, they were as able ſtill to undergo another; ſo that of theſe alſo it might now be ſaid, "Behold they pray." In the whole—the devil got juſt nothing—but God got praiſes, Chriſt got ſubjects, the Holy Spirit got temples, the church got addition, and the ſouls of men got everlaſting benefits.* I am not ſo vain as to ſay that any wiſdom or virtue of mine did contribute unto this good order of things; but I am ſo juſt as to ſay, I did not hinder this good. When therefore there have been thoſe that picked up little incoherent ſcraps and bits of

* The eſtimated value of the tragedy of 1692 by Dr. Mather, in a moral and religious point of view, has not as yet been ſeen or experienced. We are certainly better able to judge of the effect produced by the deluſion from our ſtand-point in 1860, than was Mather from his in 1693. While we are certain that virtue has received no aid from the tranſaction, it is not ſo apparent as he ſuppoſed "that the devil got juſt nothing." It has its uſe, however, as a beacon to warn us from too near an approach to ſuch deluſions, or thoſe ſimilar to them of the preſent day.

my diſcourſes in this fruitful diſcharge of my miniſtry, and ſo traveſtied them in their abuſive pamphlets as to perſuade the town that I was their common enemy in thoſe very points, wherein, if in any one thing whatſoever, I have ſenſibly approved myſelf as true a ſervant unto them as poſſibly I could, though my life and ſoul had been at ſtake for it — yea to do like ſatan himſelf, by ſly, baſe, unpretending inſinuations, as if I wore not the modeſty and gravity which became a miniſter of the goſpel — I could not but think myſelf unkindly dealt withal, and the neglect of others to do me juſtice in this affair has cauſed me to conclude this narrative with complaints in another hearing of ſuch monſtrous injuries.

PART II.

SEVERAL LETTERS, &c.

Boſton, Jan. 11, 1693.

MR. COTTON MATHER,

Reverend Sir,

FINDING it needful on many accounts, I here preſent you with the copy of that paper which has been ſo much miſrepreſented, to the end that what ſhall be found defective or not fairly repreſented (if any ſuch ſhall appear) they may be ſet right, — which runs thus:

September the 13*th*, 1693. In the evening, when the ſun was withdrawn, giving place to darkneſs to ſucceed, I with ſome others were drawn by curioſity to ſee Margaret Rule, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it was reported Mr. M—— would be there that night. Being come to her father's houſe, into the chamber wherein ſhe was in bed, I found her of a healthy

countenance, of about ſeventeen years old, lying very ſtill, and ſpeaking very little; what ſhe did ſay ſeemed as if ſhe were light-headed. Then Mr. M—— (father and ſon) came up, and others with them; in the whole there were about thirty or forty perſons; they being ſet, the father on a ſtool, and the ſon upon the bed-ſide by her, the ſon began to queſtion her:

Margaret Rule, how do you do? then a pauſe without any anſwer.

Queſtion, What! do there a great many witches ſit upon you? *Anſwer*, Yes.

Queſtion, Do you not know that there is a hard maſter? Then ſhe was in a fit. He laid his hand upon her face and noſe, but as he ſaid without perceiving breath; then he bruſhed her on the face with his glove, and rubbed her ſtomach (her breaſt not being covered with the bed-clothes) and bid others do ſo too, and ſaid it eaſed her — then ſhe revived.

Q. Don't you know there is a hard maſter? *A.* Yes.

Reply, Don't ſerve that hard maſter — you know who.

Q. Do you believe? Then again ſhe was in a fit, and he again rubbed her breaſt, &c.

About this time, Margaret Perd, an attendant, aſſiſted him in rubbing her. The afflicted ſpake angrily to her, ſaying, Don't you meddle

with me — and haſtily put away her hand. He then wrought his fingers before her eyes, and aſked her if ſhe ſaw the witches? *A.* No.

Q. Do you believe? *A.* Yes.

Q. Do you believe in you know who? — *A.* Yes.

Q. Would you have other people do ſo too — to believe in you know who? *A.* Yes.

Q. Who is it that afflicts you? *A.* I know not, there is a great many of them.

About this time the father queſtioned, if ſhe knew the ſpectres. An attendant ſaid, if ſhe did ſhe would not tell. The ſon proceeded:

Q. You have ſeen the black man, have you not? *A.* No.

Reply, I hope you never will.

Q. You have had a book offered you, have you not? *A.* No.

Q. The bruſhing of you gives you eaſe, don't it? *A.* Yes. She turned herſelf, and a little groaned.

Q. Now the witches ſcratch you, and pinch you, and bite you, don't they? *A.* Yes.

Then he put his hand upon her breaſt and belly, viz. on the clothes over her, and felt a living thing, as he ſaid; which moved the father alſo to feel, and ſome others.

Q. Don't you feel the *live thing* in the bed? *A.* No.

Reply, That is only fancy.

Q. The great company of people increaſe your torment, don't they? *A.* Yes.

The people about were deſired to withdraw. One woman ſaid, I am ſure I am no witch, I will not go; ſo others; ſo none withdrew.

Q. Shall we go to prayers? Then ſhe lay in a fit as before. But this time, to revive her, they waved a hat, and bruſhed her head and pillow therewith.

Q. Shall we go to prayer, &c. ſpelling the word. *A.* Yes.

The father went to prayer for perhaps half an hour, chiefly againſt the power of the devil and witchcraft, and that God would bring out the afflicters. During prayer-time, the ſon ſtood by, and when they thought ſhe was in a fit, rubbed her and bruſhed her as before, and beckoned to others to do the like. After prayer he proceeded:

Q. You did not hear when we were at prayer, did you? *A.* Yes.

Q. You don't hear always — you did not hear for ſome time paſt, a word or two, did you? *A.* No.

Then turning him about, ſaid, this is juſt another Mercy Short. Margaret Perd replied, ſhe was not like her in her fits.

Q. What does ſhe eat or drink? *A.* She does not eat at all, but drinks *rum.**

Then he admoniſhed the young people to take warning, &c. ſaying it was a ſad thing to be ſo tormented by the devil and his inſtruments. A young man preſent, in the habit of a ſeaman, replied, "*This is the Devil all over.*" Then the miniſters withdrew. Soon after they were gone the afflicted deſired the *women* to be gone, ſaying, that the company of the *men* was not offenſive to her; and having hold of the hand of a young man, ſaid to have been her ſweetheart formerly, who was withdrawing, ſhe pulled him again into his ſeat, ſaying, he ſhould not go to-night.

September the 19*th*, 1693. This night I renewed my viſit, and found her rather of a

* The affliction of Margaret Rule, like that of the Surrey Demoniac, Richard Dugdale of England, was nothing more than a bad caſe of delirium tremens. Richard was ſingularly toſſed and buffeted by Satan, when nine miniſters undertook to exorciſe him, by many months of continued prayer and faſting, and happily ſucceeded on the 24th of March, 1689. The record of the event informs us, when Satan finally left Richard, he had a terrible fit and vomited, whereon the devil, when he could no longer withſtand the miniſters, with ſingular impudence cried, "Now, Dickey, I muſt leave thee, and muſt afflict thee no more." It is probable that the ſucceſs in this famous caſe of the Surrey Demoniac occurred to the mind of Dr. Mather, when he offered to provide meat, drink, and lodging for no leſs than ſix of the poſſeſſed of Salem Village, that "the *poſſeſſed* might be ſcattered ſunder," ſo that an experiment might be made, whether prayer with faſting, upon the removal of the accuſed, might not put a period to the riſing trouble.

freſher countenance than before. About eight perſons were preſent with her. She was in a fit, ſcreaming and making a noiſe. Three or four perſons rubbed and bruſhed her with their hands: they ſaid that the bruſhing did put them away, if they bruſhed or rubbed in the *right place;* therefore they bruſhed and rubbed in ſeveral places, and ſaid that when they did it in the *right place* ſhe could fetch her breath, and by that they knew. She being come to herſelf was ſoon in a merry talking fit. A young man came in, and aſked her how ſhe did. She anſwered, very bad, but at preſent a little better.

He ſoon told her he muſt be gone, and bid her good-night; at which ſhe ſeemed troubled, ſaying that ſhe liked his company, and ſaid ſhe would not have him go till ſhe was well; adding, for I ſhall die when you are gone. Then ſhe complained they did not put her on a clean cap, but let her lie ſo like a beaſt, ſaying ſhe ſhould loſe all her fellows. She ſaid ſhe wondered any people ſhould be ſo wicked as to think ſhe was not afflicted, but to think ſhe diſſembled. A young woman anſwered, Yes, if they were to ſee you in this merry fit, they would ſay you diſſembled indeed. She replied, Mr. M—— ſaid this was her laughing time, ſhe muſt laugh now. She ſaid Mr. M—— had been

there this evening, and ſhe enquired how long he had been gone. She ſaid he ſtayed alone with her in the room half an hour, and ſaid that he told her there were ſome that came for ſpies, and to report about town that ſhe was not afflicted; that during the ſaid time ſhe had no fit; that he aſked her if ſhe knew how many times he had prayed for her to-day; and that ſhe anſwered, that ſhe could not tell; and that he replied, he had prayed for her nine times to-day. The attendants ſaid that ſhe was ſometimes in a fit, that none could open her joints, and that there came an old *iron-jawed* woman and tried, but could not do it; they likewiſe ſaid, that her head could not be moved from the pillow. I tried to move her head, and found no more difficulty than another perſon (and ſo did others) but was not willing to offend by lifting it up, once being reproved for endeavouring it; they ſaying angrily, you will break her neck. The attendants ſaid Mr. M—— would not go to prayer with her when people were in the room, as they did one night — that night he felt the *live creature*. Margaret Perd and another ſaid they ſmelt brimſtone. I and others ſaid we did not ſmell any; then they ſaid they did not know what it was. This Margaret ſaid ſhe wiſhed ſhe had been here when Mr. M—— was here. Another attendant ſaid, If you had been here, you might

not have been permitted in, for her own mother was not ſuffered to be preſent.

Sir, after the ſoreſt affliction and greateſt blemiſh to religion that ever befel this country, and after moſt men began to fear that ſome undue ſteps had been taken, and after his excellency (with their Majeſties' approbation as is ſaid) had put a ſtop to executions, and men began to hope there would never be a return of the like; finding theſe accounts to contain in them ſomething extraordinary, I writ them down the ſame nights, in order to attain the certainty of them, and ſoon found them ſo confirmed that I have (beſides other demonſtrations) the whole under the hands of two perſons who are ready to atteſt the truth of it; but not ſatisfied herewith, I ſhewed them to ſome of your particular friends, that ſo I might have the greater certainty; but was much ſurpriſed with the meſſage you ſent me, that I ſhould be arreſted for ſlander, and at your calling me one of the worſt of liars, making it pulpit news, with the name of pernicious libels, &c. This occaſioned my firſt letter: [as followeth.]

September the 29*th*, 1693.

Reverend Sir,

I having written from the mouths of ſeveral perſons, who affirm they were preſent with Mar-

garet Rule the 13th inſtant, her anſwers and behaviour, &c., and having ſhewed it to ſeveral of my friends, as alſo yours, and underſtanding you are offended at it, this is to acquaint you that if you and any one particular friend will pleaſe to meet me and ſome other indifferent perſon with me at Mr. Wilkins's, or at Benj. Harris's, you intimating the time, I ſhall be ready there to read it to you, as alſo a further account of proceedings the 19th inſtant, which may be needful to prevent groundleſs prejudices, and let deſerved blame be caſt where it ought. From, ſir, yours, in what I may, R. C.

The effects of which, ſir, (not to mention that long letter only once read to me,) was, you ſent me word you would meet me at Mr. Wilkins's; but, before that anſwer, at yours and your father's complaint, I was brought before their majeſties' juſtice, by warrant, for ſcandalous libels againſt yourſelf, and was bound over to anſwer at ſeſſions. I do not remember you then objected againſt the truth of what I had wrote, but aſſerted it was wronged by omiſſions; which, if it were ſo, was paſt any power of mine to remedy, having given a faithful account of all that came to my knowledge: and, ſir, that you might not be without ſome cognizance of the reaſons why I took ſo much pains in it, as alſo

for my own information, (if it might have been) I wrote to you my ſecond letter to this effect:

November the 24*th*, 1693.

Reverend Sir,

Having expected ſome weeks your meeting me at Mr. Wilkins's, according to what you intimated to me, and the time drawing near for our meeting elſewhere, I thought it not amiſs to give you a ſummary of my thoughts in the great concern, which, as you ſay, has been agitated with ſo much heat. That there are witches is not the doubt; the ſcriptures elſe were vain, which aſſign their puniſhment to be by death; but what this witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt, ſeems to be the whole difficulty: and as it may be eaſily demonſtrated, that all that bear that name cannot be juſtly ſo accounted; ſo that ſome things and actions, not ſo eſteemed by the moſt, yet upon due examination will be found to merit no better character.

In your late book you lay down a brief ſynopſis of what has been written on that ſubject, by a triumvirate of as eminent men as ever handled it (as you are pleaſed to call them) viz. Mr. Perkins, Gaule and Bernard, conſiſting of about thirty tokens to know them by, many of them diſtinct from, if not thwarting, each other: among all of which I can find but one deciſive,

viz. that of Mr. Gaule, head iv. and runs thus: "Among the moſt unhappy circumſtances to convict a witch, one is a maligning and oppugning the word, work or worſhip of God, and by any extraordinary ſign ſeeking to ſeduce any from it. See Deut. xiii. 1, 2. Matt. xxiv. 24. Acts xiii. 8. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 8. Do but mark well the places; and for this very property, of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute witches."

This head, as here laid down and inſerted by you, either is a truth or not; if not, why is it here inſerted from one of the triumvirate? If it be a truth, as the ſcriptures quoted will abundantly teſtify, whence is it that it is ſo little regarded, though it be the only head well proved by ſcripture, or that the reſt of the triumvirate ſhould ſo far forget their work as not to mention it? It were to be unjuſt to the memory of thoſe otherwiſe wiſe men, to ſuppoſe them to have any ſiniſter deſign; but perhaps the force of a prevailing opinion, together with an education thereto ſuited, might overſhadow their judgments, as being wont to be but too prevalent in many other caſes. But if the above be truth, then the ſcripture is full and plain, what is witchcraft. And if ſo, what need of his next head of hanging people without as full and clear evidence as in other caſes? Or

what need of the reſt of the receipts of the triumvirate? What need of praying that the afflicted may be able to diſcover who it is that afflicts them? or what need of ſearching for teats for the devil to ſuck, in his old age; or the experiment of ſaying the Lord's prayer, &c. with a multitude more, practiſed in ſome places ſuperſtitiouſly inclined? Other actions have been practiſed for eaſing the afflicted, leſs juſtifiable, if not ſtrongly ſavouring of witchcraft itſelf, viz. fondly imagining by the hand, &c. to drive off ſpectres, or to knock off inviſible chains, or by ſtriking in the air to wound either the afflicted or others, &c. I write not this to accuſe any, but that all may beware; believing that the devil's bounds are ſet, which he cannot paſs; that devils are ſo full of malice, that it cannot be added to by mankind; that where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; that it is only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſionate him to hurt or deſtroy any.

Theſe laſt, ſir, are ſuch foundations of truth, in my eſteem, that I cannot but own it to be my duty to aſſert them, when called, though with the hazard of my all; and conſequently to deteſt ſuch as theſe, that a witch can commiſſionate devils to afflict mortals; that he can, at his or the witch's pleaſure, aſſume any ſhape;

that hanging or drowning of witches can leſſen his power of afflicting, or reſtore thoſe that were at a diſtance tormented, with many others depending on theſe; all tending, in my eſteem, highly to the diſhonour of God, and the endangering the well-being of a people; and do further add, that as the ſcriptures are full that there is witchcraft (ut ſup.) ſo 'tis as plain that there are poſſeſſions, and that the bodies of the poſſeſt have hence been not only afflicted, but ſtrangely agitated, if not their tongues improved to foretel futurities, &c. and why not to accuſe the innocent, as bewitching them? having pretence to divination to gain credence. This being reaſonable to be expected from him who is the father of lies, to the end he may thereby involve a country in blood, malice and evil-ſurmiſing, which he greedily ſeeks after, and ſo finally lead them from their fear and dependence upon God, to fear him and a ſuppoſed witch, thereby attaining his end upon mankind; and not only ſo, but natural diſtempers, as has been frequently obſerved by the judicious, have ſo operated as to deceive more than the vulgar, as is teſtified by many famous phyſicians and others. And as for that proof of multitudes of confeſſions, this country may be by this time thought competent judges what credence we ought to give them, having

had ſuch numerous inſtances, as alſo how obtained.

And now, ſir, if herein be any thing in your eſteem valuable, let me entreat you not to account it the worſe for coming from ſo mean a hand; which, however you may have received prejudice, &c. am ready to ſerve you to my power; but if you judge otherwiſe hereof, you may take your own methods for my better information. Who am, ſir, yours to command, in what I may, R. C.

In anſwer to this laſt, ſir, you replied to the gentleman that preſented it, that you had nothing to proſecute againſt me; and ſaid, as to your ſentiments in your books, you did not bind any to believe them; and then again renewed your promiſe of meeting me, as before, though not yet performed. Accordingly, though I waited at ſeſſions, there was none to object ought againſt me, upon which I was diſmiſſed. This gave me ſome reaſon to believe that you intended all ſhould have been forgotten; but, inſtead of that, I find the coals are freſh blown up, I being ſuppoſed to be repreſented, in a late manuſcript, *More Wonders of the*, &c. as traveſtying your diſcourſe in your faithful diſcharge of your duty, &c. and ſuch as ſee not with the author's eyes, rendered ſadducees and witlings, &c. and the

arguments that ſquare not with the ſentiments therein contained, buffoonery; rarely, no doubt, agreeing with the ſpirit of Chriſt, and his dealings with an unbelieving Thomas, yet whoſe infidelity was without compare leſs excuſable; but the author having reſolved long ſince to have no more than one ſingle grain of patience with them that deny, &c. the wonder is the leſs. It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo to him by whom they come. To vindicate myſelf therefore from ſuch falſe imputations, of ſatan-like inſinuations, and miſrepreſenting your actions, &c. and to vindicate yourſelf, ſir, as much as is in my power, from thoſe ſuggeſtions, ſaid to be inſinuated, as if you wore not the modeſty and gravity that becomes a miniſter of the goſpel; which, it ſeems, ſome, that never ſaw the ſaid narratives, report them to contain; I ſay, ſir, for theſe reaſons, I here preſent you with the firſt copy that ever was taken, &c. and purpoſe for a week's time to be ready, if you ſhall intimate your pleaſure to wait upon me, either at the place formerly appointed, or any other that is indifferent; to the end that, if there ſhall appear any defects in that narrative, they may be amended.

Thus, ſir, I have given you a genuine account of my ſentiments and actions in this affair; and do requeſt and pray, that if I err, I may be

ſhewed it from ſcripture, or ſound reaſon, and not by quotations out of Virgil, nor Spaniſh rhetorick. For I find the witlings mentioned are ſo far from anſwering your profound queſtions, that they cannot ſo much as pretend to ſhew a diſtinction between witchcraft in the common notion of it, and poſſeſſion; nor ſo much as to demonſtrate that ever the Jews or primitive chriſtians did believe that a witch could ſend a devil to afflict her neighbours. But to all theſe, ſir, (ye being the ſalt of the earth, &c.) I have reaſon to hope for a ſatisfactory anſwer to him, who is one that reverences your perſon and office; and am, ſir, yours to command, in what I may, R. C.

Boſton, Jan. the 15*th*, 1693.

Mr. R. C.

Whereas you intimate your deſires, that what is not fairly (I take it for granted you mean truly alſo) repreſented in a paper you lately ſent me, containing a pretended narrative of a viſit by my father and ſelf to an afflicted young woman, whom we apprehended to be under a diabolical poſſeſſion, might be rectified; I have this to ſay, as I have often already ſaid, that I do ſcarcely find any one thing in the whole paper, whether reſpecting my father or ſelf, either fairly or truly repreſented. Nor can I

think that any, that know my parent's circumſtances, but muſt think him deſerving a better character by far, than this narrative can be thought to give him. When the main deſign we managed, in viſiting the poor afflicted creature, was to prevent the accuſations of the neighbourhood, can it be fairly repreſented that our deſign was to draw out ſuch accuſations? which is the repreſentation of the paper. We have teſtimonies of the beſt witneſſes, and in number not a few, that when we aſked Rule whether ſhe thought ſhe knew who tormented her, the queſtion was but an introduction to the ſolemn charges which we then largely gave, that ſhe ſhould rather die than tell the names of any whom ſhe might imagine that ſhe knew. Your informers have reported the queſtion, and report nothing of what follows, as eſſential to the giving of that queſtion. And can this be termed a piece of fairneſs? Fair it cannot be, that when miniſters faithfully and carefully diſcharge their duty to the miſerable in their flock, little bits, ſcraps and ſhreds of their diſcourſes ſhould be tacked together to make them contemptible, when there ſhall be no notice of all the neceſſary, ſeaſonable and profitable things that occurred in thoſe diſcourſes; and without which, the occaſion of the leſſer paſſages cannot be underſtood: and yet I am furniſhed with

abundant evidences, ready to be ſworn, that will poſitively prove this part of unfairneſs, by the above mentioned narrative, to be done both to my father and ſelf. Again, it ſeems not fair or reaſonable that I ſhould be expoſed for that which yourſelf (not to ſay ſome others) might have expoſed me for if I had not done, viz. for diſcouraging ſo much company from flocking about the poſſeſt maid; and yet, as I perſuade myſelf, you cannot but think it to be good advice to keep much company from ſuch haunted chambers. Beſides, the unfairneſs doth more appear, in that I find nothing repeated of what I ſaid about the advantage which the devil takes from too much obſervation and curioſity.

In that ſeveral of the queſtions in the paper are ſo worded as to carry in them a preſuppoſal of the things inquired after, to ſay the beſt of it, is very unfair. But this is not all; the narrative contains a number of miſtakes and falſehoods, which, were they wilful and deſigned, might juſtly be termed groſs lies. The repreſentations are far from true, when 'tis affirmed my father and ſelf being come into the room, I began the diſcourſe: I hope I underſtand breeding a little better than ſo. For proof of this, did occaſion ſerve, ſundry can depoſe the contrary.

'Tis no leſs untrue, that either my father or ſelf put the queſtion, How many witches ſit upon you? We always cautiouſly avoided that expreſſion, it being contrary to our inward belief. All the ſtanders-by will, I believe, ſwear they did not hear us uſe it, (your witneſſes excepted) and I tremble to think how hardy thoſe woful creatures muſt be, to call the Almighty, by an oath, to ſo falſe a thing. As falſe a repreſentation 'tis, that I rubbed Rule's ſtomach, her breaſt not being covered. The oath of the neareſt ſpectators, giving a true account of that matter, will prove this to be little leſs than a groſs (if not a doubled) lie; and to be ſomewhat plainer, it carries the face of a lie contrived on purpoſe (by them at leaſt to whom you are beholden for the narrative) wickedly and baſely to expoſe me: for you cannot but know how much this repreſentation hath contributed to make people believe a ſmutty thing of me. I am far from thinking but that in your own conſcience you believe, that no indecent action of that nature could then be done by me before ſuch obſervers, had I been ſo wicked as to have been inclined to what is baſe. It looks next to impoſſible that a reparation ſhould be made me for the wrong done to (I hope, as to any ſcandal) an unblemiſhed, though weak and ſmall, ſervant of the church of God. Nor

is what follows a leſs untruth, that it was an attendant and not myſelf who ſaid, If Rule knows who afflicts her, yet ſhe won't tell. I therefore ſpoke it that I might encourage her to continue in that concealment of all names whatſoever; to this I am able to furniſh myſelf with the atteſtation of ſufficient oaths. 'Tis as far from true, that my apprehenſion of the imp, about Rule, was on her belly; for the oaths of the ſpectators, and even of thoſe that thought they felt it, can teſtify that it was upon the pillow, at a diſtance from her body. As untrue a repreſentation is that which follows, viz. that it was ſaid unto her, that her not apprehending of that odd, palpable, though not viſible, mover, was from her fancy; for I endeavoured to perſuade her that it might be but fancy in others, that there was any ſuch thing at all. Witneſſes every way ſufficient can be produced for this alſo. It is falſely repreſented, that my father felt on the young woman after the appearance mentioned, for his hand was never near her; oath can ſufficiently vindicate him. 'Tis very untrue, that my father prayed, for perhaps half an hour, againſt the power of the devil and witchcraft, and that God would bring out the afflicters: witneſſes of the beſt credit can depoſe, that his prayer was not a quarter of an hour, and that there was no more than about one

clauſe, towards the cloſe of the prayer, which was of this import; and this clauſe alſo was guarded with a ſingular warineſs and modeſty, viz. If there were any evil inſtruments in this matter, God would pleaſe to diſcover them: and that there was more than common reaſon for that petition, I can ſatisfy any one that will pleaſe to inquire of me. And ſtrange it is, that a gentleman that from eighteen to fifty-four hath been an exemplary miniſter of the goſpel; and that, beſides a ſtation in the church of God, as conſiderable as any that his own country can afford, hath for divers years come off with honour, in his application to three crowned heads, and the chiefeſt nobility of three kingdoms; knows not yet how to make one ſhort prayer of a quarter of an hour, but in New-England he muſt be libelled for it. There are divers other down-right miſtakes, which you have permitted yourſelf (I would hope not knowingly and with a malicious deſign) to be receiver or compiler of, which I ſhall now forbear to animadvert upon. As for the appendix of the narrative, I do find myſelf therein injuriouſly treated; for the utmoſt of your proof, for what you ſay of me, amounts to little more than this, viz. Some people told you, that others told them, that ſuch and ſuch things did paſs; but you may aſſure yourſelf, that I

am not unfurniſhed with witneſſes that can convict the ſame. Whereas you would give me to believe the bottom of theſe, your methods, to be ſome diſſatisfaction about the commonly received power of devils and witches; I do not only with all freedom offer you the uſe of any part of my library, which you may ſee cauſe to peruſe on that ſubject, but alſo, if you and any one elſe, whom you pleaſe, will viſit me at my ſtudy, yea, or meet me at any other place, leſs inconvenient than thoſe by you propoſed, I will with all the fairneſs and calmneſs in the world diſpute the point. I beg of God that he would beſtow as many bleſſings on you, as ever on myſelf; and out of a ſincere wiſh that you may be made yet more capable of theſe bleſſings, I take this occaſion to lay before you the faults (not few nor ſmall ones neither) which the paper contained, you lately ſent me, in order to be examined by me. In caſe you want a true and full narrative of my viſit, whereof ſuch an indecent traveſty (to ſay the beſt) hath been made, I am not unwilling to communicate it; in mean time muſt take liberty to ſay, it is ſcarcely conſiſtent with common civility, much leſs chriſtian charity, to offer the narrative, now with you, for a true one, till you have a truer; or for a full one, till you have a fuller. Your ſincere (though injured) friend and ſervant,

C. MATHER.

The copy of a paper received with the above letter.

I do teſtify that I have ſeen Margaret Rule, in her afflictions from the inviſible world, lifted up from her bed, wholly by an inviſible force, a great way towards the top of the room where ſhe lay; in her being ſo lifted, ſhe had no aſſiſtance from any uſe of her own arms or hands, or any other part of her body, not ſo much as her heels touching her bed, or reſting on any ſupport whatſoever. And I have ſeen her thus lifted, when not only a ſtrong perſon hath thrown his whole weight acroſs her to pull her down, but ſeveral other perſons have endeavoured, with all their might, to hinder her from being ſo raiſed up; which I ſuppoſe that ſeveral others will teſtify as well as myſelf when called unto it. Witneſs my hand, SAMUEL AVES.

We can alſo teſtify to the ſubſtance of what is above written; and have ſeveral times ſeen Margaret Rule ſo lifted up from her bed, as that ſhe had no uſe of her own limbs to help her up; but it was the declared apprehenſion of us, as well as others, that ſaw it, impoſſible for any hands, but ſome of the inviſible world, to lift her.

ROBERT EARLE,
JOHN WILKINS,
DAN. WILLIAMS.

We, whoſe names are under-written, do teſtify, that one evening, when we were in the chamber where Margaret Rule then lay, in her late affliction, we obſerved her to be, by an inviſible force, lifted up from the bed whereon ſhe lay, ſo as to touch the garret floor, while yet neither her feet, nor any other part of her body, reſted either on the bed or any other ſupport, but were alſo, by the ſame force, lifted up from all that was under her; and all this for a conſiderable while, we judged it ſeveral minutes; and it was as much as ſeveral of us could do, with all our ſtrength, to pull her down. All which happened when there was not only we two in the chamber, but we ſuppoſe ten or a dozen more, whoſe names we have forgotten. THOMAS THORNTON.

WILLIAM HUDSON

teſtifies to the ſubſtance of Thornton's teſtimony, to which he alſo hath ſet his hand.

Boſton, January 18, 1693.

MR. COTTON MATHER,

Reverend Sir,

Yours of the 15th inſtant I received yeſterday, and ſoon found I had promiſed myſelf too much by it, viz. either concurrence with, or a denial of, thoſe fundamentals mentioned in mine, of November the 24th, finding this waived by an invitation to your library, &c. I thank God

I have the bible, and do judge that ſufficient to demonſtrate that cited head of Mr. Gaule to be a truth, as alſo thoſe other heads mentioned as the foundations of religion. And in my apprehenſion, if it be aſked any chriſtian, whether God governs the world, and whether it be he only can commiſſionate devils, and ſuch other fundamentals, he ought to be as ready as in the queſtion, Who made him? (A little writing certainly might be of more uſe, to clear up the controverted points, than either looking over many books in a well furniſhed library, or than a diſpute, if I were qualified for it; the inconveniencies of paſſion being this way beſt avoided.) And am not without hopes that you will yet oblige me ſo far, as to conſider that letter, and if I err, to let me ſee it by ſcripture, &c.

Yours, almoſt the whole of it, is concerning the narrative I ſent to you; and you ſeem to intimate as if I were giving characters, reflections, libels, &c. concerning yourſelf and relations; all which were as far from my thoughts, as ever they were in writing after either yourſelf, or any other miniſter. In the front you declare your apprehenſion to be, that the afflicted was under a diabolical poſſeſſion; and if ſo, I ſee not how it ſhould be occaſioned by any witchcraft (unleſs we aſcribe that power to a witch, which is only the prerogative of the Almighty, of ſending or

commiſſionating the devils to afflict her.) But to your particular objections againſt the narrative; and to the firſt. My intelligence not giving me any further, I could not inſert that I knew not. And it ſeems improbable that a queſtion ſhould be put, whether ſhe knew who they were that tormented her, and at the ſame time to charge her, and that upon her life, not to tell; and if you had done ſo, I ſee but little good you could promiſe yourſelf or others by it, ſhe being poſſeſt, as alſo having it inculcated ſo much to her, of witchcraft. And as to the next objection, about company flocking, &c. I profeſs my ignorance, not knowing what you mean by it. And, ſir, that moſt of the queſtions did carry with them a preſuppoſing the things inquired after, is evident, if there were ſuch as thoſe relating to the *blackman* and a book, and about her hearing the prayer, &c. (related in the ſaid narrative, which I find no objection againſt.) As to that which is ſaid of mentioning yourſelf firſt diſcourſing, and your hopes that your breeding was better, (I doubt it not, nor do I doubt your father might firſt apply himſelf to others) my intelligence is, that you firſt ſpake to the afflicted or poſſeſſed, for which you had the advantage of a nearer approach. The next two objections are founded upon miſtakes: I find not in the narrative any ſuch queſtion, as How

many witches ſit upon you? nor, that her breaſt was not covered, in which thoſe material words, *with the bed-clothes*, are wholly omitted. I am not willing to retort here your own language upon you; but can tell you, that your own diſcourſe of it publickly, at Sir W. P.'s table, has much more contributed to, &c. As to the reply, If ſhe could ſhe would not tell, whether either or both ſpake it, it matters not much. Neither does the narrative ſay, you felt the live thing on her belly; though I omit now to ſay what further demonſtrations there are of it. As to that reply, That is only her fancy, I find the word *her* added. And as to your father's feeling for the live creature after you had felt it, if it were on the bed it was not ſo very far from her. And for the length of his prayer, poſſibly your witneſſes might keep a more exact account of the time than thoſe others, and I ſtand not for a few minutes. For the reſt of the objections, I ſuppoſe them of leſs moment, if leſs can be; however, ſhall be ready to receive them. Thoſe matters of greateſt concern I find no objections againſt. Theſe being all that yet appear, it may be thought that if the narrative be not fully exact, it was as near as memory could bear away; but ſhould be glad to ſee one more perfect (which yet is not to be expected, ſeeing none wrote at the ſame time.) You

mention the appendix, by which I underſtand the ſecond viſit; and if you be by the poſſeſſed belied (as being half an hour with her alone, excluding her own mother, and as telling her you had prayed for her nine times that day, and that now was her laughing time, ſhe muſt laugh now) I can ſee no wonder in it: What can be expected leſs from the father of lies, by whom, you judge, ſhe was poſſeſt?

And beſides the above letter, you were pleaſed to ſend me another paper, containing ſeveral teſtimonies of the poſſeſſed being lifted up, and held a ſpace of ſeveral minutes to the garret floor, &c. but they omit giving the account, whether after ſhe was down they bound her down, or kept holding her; and relate not how many were to pull her down, which hinders the knowledge what number they muſt be, to be ſtronger than an inviſible force. Upon the whole, I ſuppoſe you expect I ſhould believe it; and if ſo, the only advantage gained is, that what has been ſo long controverted between proteſtants and papiſts, whether miracles are ceaſt, will hereby ſeem to be decided for the latter; it being, for ought I can ſee, if ſo, as true a miracle as for iron to ſwim; and the devil can work ſuch miracles.

But, ſir, to leave theſe little diſputable things, I do again pray that you would let me have the

happineſs of your approbation or confutation of that letter before referred to.

And now, ſir, that the God of all grace may enable us zealouſly to own his truths, and to follow thoſe things that tend to peace, and that yourſelf may be as an uſeful inſtrument in his hand; effectually to ruin the remainder of heatheniſh and popiſh ſuperſtitions, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of yours to command in what I may, R. C.

Poſtſcript. — Sir, I here ſend you the copy of a paper that lately came to my hands; which, though it contains no wonders, yet is remarkable, and runs thus:

An account of what an Indian told Capt. Hill at Saco Fort.

The Indian told him, that the French miniſters were better than the Engliſh; for before the French came among them there were a great many witches among the Indians; but now there were none; and there were witches among the Engliſh miniſters, as Burroughs, who was hang'd for it.

Were I diſpoſed to make reflections upon it, I ſuppoſe you will judge the field large enough; but I forbear.

As above, R. C.

Boſton, Feb. 19, 1693.

MR. COTTON MATHER,

Reverend Sir,

I have received as yet no anſwer to mine of November the 24th, except an offer to peruſe books, &c. relating to the doctrinals therein contained; nor to my laſt, of January the 18th, in

which I again prayed that if I erred I might be ſhewed it by ſcripture, viz. in believing that the devil's bounds are ſet, which he cannot paſs — that the devils are ſo full of malice, that it can't be added to by mankind — that where he hath power, he neither can nor will omit executing it — that it is only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and who only can commiſſion him to hurt or deſtroy any; and conſequently to deteſt, as erroneous and dangerous, the belief that a witch can commiſſion devils to afflict mortals — that he can at his or the witch's pleaſure aſſume any ſhape — that the hanging or drowning of witches can leſſen his power of afflicting, and reſtore thoſe that were at a diſtance tormented by him; — and whether witchcraft ought to be underſtood, now in this age, to be the ſame that it was when the divine oracles were given forth, particularly thoſe quoted by mr. Gaule, in that cited head, *Wonders of the Inviſible World* (mr. Gaule's fourth head) to diſcover witches, which do ſo plainly ſhew a witch, in ſcripture ſenſe, to be one that maligns, &c. and that pretends to give a ſign in order to ſeduce, &c. For I have never underſtood, in my time, any ſuch have ſuffered as witches, though ſufficiently known; but the only witch now inquired after is one that is ſaid to become ſo by making an explicit covenant with the devil,

i. e. the devil appearing to them, and making a compact, mutually promiſing each to other; teſtified by their ſigning his book, a material book, which he is ſaid to keep; and that thereby they are intituled to a power, not only to afflict others, but ſuch as is truly exorbitant, if not highly intrenching upon the prerogative of him who is the Sovereign Being: For who is he that ſaith, and it cometh to paſs, when the Lord commandeth it not?

Such explicit covenant being, as is ſaid, in this age, reckoned eſſential to complete a witch; yet I finding nothing of ſuch covenant (or power thereby obtained) in ſcripture, and yet a witch therein ſo fully deſcribed, do pray that if there be any ſuch ſcriptures I may be directed to them; for as to the many legends in this caſe, I make no account of them: I read indeed of a covenant with death and with hell, but ſuppoſe that to be in the heart (or *mental*) only, and ſee not what uſe ſuch an explicit one can be of between ſpirits, any further than as 'tis a copy of that *mental* which is in the heart. The dire effects and conſequences of ſuch notion may be found written in indelible *Roman* characters of blood, in all countries where they have prevailed. And what leſs can be expected, when men are indicted for that, which it is impoſſible to prove, ſo as for any to clear himſelf of, viz

ſuch explicit covenant with the devil; and then, for want of better evidence, muſt take up with ſuch as the nature of ſuch ſecret covenant can bear, as mr. Gaule hath it, i. e. diſtracted ſtories, and ſtrange and foreign events, &c. thereby endeavouring to find it, though by its but ſuppoſed effects. By the ſame rule that one is put to purge himſelf of ſuch compact, by the ſame may all mankind.

This then being ſo important a caſe, it concerns all to know what foundations in ſcripture are laid for ſuch a ſtructure; for if they are deficient of that warrant, the more eminent the architects are, the more dangerous are they thereby rendered, &c. Theſe are ſuch conſiderations as I think will vindicate me, in the eſteem of all lovers of humanity, in my endeavours to get them cleared; and, to that end, do once more pray, that you would ſo far oblige me as to give your approbation or confutation of the above doctrinals; but if you think ſilence a virtue in this caſe, I ſhall (I ſuppoſe) ſo far comply with it as not to loſe you any more time to look over my papers. And if any others will ſo far oblige me, I ſhall not be ungrateful to them. Praying God to guide and proſper you, I am, ſir, yours to my power,

R. C.

(*He that doth truth cometh to the light.*)

Boſton, April the 16*th*, 1694.

MR. COTTON MATHER,

Reverend Sir,

Having as yet received no anſwer to my laſt, touching the doctrinals therein referred to, though at the delivery of it you were pleaſed to promiſe the gentleman that preſented it that I ſhould have it, and after that you acquainted the ſame gentleman you were about it; the length of time ſince thoſe promiſes makes me ſuppoſe you are preparing ſomething for the preſs (for I would not queſtion your veracity;) and I think it may not be amiſs, when you do any thing of that nature for the public view, that you alſo explain ſome paſſages of ſome late books of yours and your relations, which are hard to be underſtood; to inſtance in a few of many; *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, page 17, "Plagues are ſome of thoſe woes with which the devil cauſes our trouble." Page 18, "Hence come ſuch plagues as that beſom of deſtruction which within our memory ſwept away ſuch a throng of people from one Engliſh city, in one viſitation. Wars are ſome of thoſe woes with which the devil cauſes our trouble." Page 16, "Hence 'tis that the devil, like a dragon keeping a guard upon ſuch fruits as would refreſh a languiſhing world, has hindered mankind for many ages from hitting upon thoſe uſeful in-

ventions. The benighted world muſt jog on, for thouſands of years, without the knowlege of the loadſtone, printing, and ſpectacles." Page 10, "It is not likely that every devil does know every language. 'Tis poſſible the experience, or, if I may call it ſo, the education, of all devils is not alike." *Caſes of Conſcience*, page 63, "The devil has inflicted on many the diſeaſe called the lycanthropia." *Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft Diſc.* page 24, "I am alſo apt to think that the devils are ſeldom able to hurt us in any of our exterior concerns, without a commiſſion from ſome of our fellow worms. When foul mouth'd men ſhall wiſh harm to their neighbours, they give a commiſſion to the devil to perform what they deſire; and if God ſhould not mercifully prevent, they would go through with it. Hear this, you that in wild paſſion will give every thing to the devil; hear it, you that beſpeak a rot, a pox, or a plague, on all that ſhall provoke you; I here indict you as guilty of helliſh witchcraft in the ſight of God." *More Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 49, "They each of them have their ſpectres or devils commiſſioned by them, and repreſenting them." Page 14, "But ſuch a permiſſion from God for the devil to come down and break in upon mankind, muſt often times be accompanied with a commiſſion from ſome

of mankind itſelf." *Enchantments encountered*, "Theſe witches have driven a trade of commiſſioning their confederate ſpirits to do all ſorts of miſchiefs to their neighbours." Page 50, "They have bewitched ſome, even ſo far as to make them ſelf-deſtroyers." Page 144, "As I am abundantly ſatisfied, that many of the ſelf-murders, committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and bloody witchcraft, letting fly dæmons upon the miſerable Senecas." Page 51, "We have ſeen ſome of their children dedicated to the devil, that in their infancy the imps have ſucked them." *Caſes of Conſcience*, page 24, "They bequeath their dæmons to the children as a legacy, by whom they are often aſſiſted to ſee and do things beyond the power of nature." Page 21, "There is in Spain a ſort of people called Zahurs, that can ſee into the bowels of the earth." *On Tueſdays and Fridays, and to add that in page* 49; the words are, "For the law of God allows of no revelation from any other ſpirit but himſelf, Iſa. viii. 19. It is a ſin againſt God to make uſe of the devil's help, to know that which cannot be otherways known; and I teſtify againſt it as a great tranſgreſſion, which may juſtly provoke that Holy One of Iſrael to let looſe devils on the whole land. Although the devil's accuſation may be ſo far regarded, as to cauſe an inquiry into the

truth of things, (Job i. 11, 12, and ii. 5, 6) yet not ſo as to be an evidence or ground of conviction; for the devil's teſtimony ought not to be taken in whole nor in part." It is a known truth, that ſome unwary expreſſions of the primitive fathers were afterwards improved for the introducing and eſtabliſhing of error, as their calling the Virgin Mary the mother of God, &c. Hence occaſion and advantage were taken to propagate the idolizing of her. The like might be ſaid of the euchariſt. Theſe aſſertions, above rehearſed, being apparently liable to a like mal-conſtruction, and no leſs dangerous, are therefore, as I ſaid, highly needful to be explained, and that in a moſt public manner. For were they to be underſtood literally, and as they are ſpoken, it muſt ſeem as if the authors were introducing among chriſtians very dangerous doctrines, ſuch as, were they aſſerted by the beſt of men, yet ought to be rejected by all, &c. viz. That 'tis the devil that brings the moſt of evils upon mankind, by way of infliction, that do befal them; and that the witch can commiſſion him to the performance of theſe; with many other as dangerous doctrines, and ſuch as ſeem in their tendency to look favourably upon the antient pagan doctrines of this country, who believed that God did hurt to none, but good to all, but that the devil muſt be pleaſed by wor-

ſhiping, &c. from whom came all their miſeries, as they believed. For what were all this, but to rob God of his glory in the higheſt manner, and give it to a devil and a witch? Is it not he that hath ſaid, Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it? But if any are fond of their own notions, becauſe ſome eminent men before now have aſſerted them, they may do well to compare them with that excellent ſaying (*Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 7) "About this devil there are many things, whereof we may reaſonably and profitably be inquiſitive; ſuch things I mean as are in our bibles revealed to us; according to which if we do not ſpeak on ſo dark a ſubject, but according to our own uncertain and perhaps humourſome conjectures, there is no light in us." Or that other, p. 75, "At every other weapon the devil will be too hard for us." For 'tis moſt certain that other notions, weapons and practices have been taken up with, and that the event has been anſwerable: the devil has been too hard for ſuch as have ſo done. I ſhall forbear to inſtance from the dogmatical part, and ſhall mention ſome practices that as much need explaining; *Mem. Provid. Rel. to Witchc.* pages 29, 30, 31; where account is given that it was prayed for that the afflicted might be able to declare, whom ſhe apprehended herſelf afflicted by, together with the immediate

anſwer of ſuch prayer. To this you once replied, when it was mentioned to you, that you did not then underſtand the wiles of ſatan.

To which I have nothing to object, but it might be a good acknowledgment. But conſidering that the book is gone forth into all the world, I cannot but think the ſalve ought to be proportioned to the ſore, and the notice of the devil's wiles as univerſal as the means recommending them. Another practice is, (pages 20, 21,) "There was one ſingular paſſion that frequently attended her; an inviſible chain would be clapt about her, and ſhe in much pain and fear cry out when they began to put it on: once I did with my own hand knock it off as it began to be faſtened about her." If this were done by the power or virtue of any ordinance of divine inſtruction, it is well; but would have been much better if the inſtitution had been demonſtrated; or was there any phyſical virtue in that particular hand? But ſuppoſing that neither of theſe will be aſſerted by the author, I think it very requiſite, that the world may be acquainted with the operation, and to what art or craft to refer their power of knocking off inviſible chains. And thus, ſir, I have faithfully diſcharged what in this I took to be my duty, and am ſo far from doing it to gain applauſe, or from a ſpirit of contradiction, that I expect to procure me many ene-

mies thereby; but (as in caſe of a fire) where the glory of God and the good and welfare of mankind are ſo nearly concerned, I thought it my duty to be no longer an idle ſpectator; and can and do ſay, to the glory of God, in this whole affair, I have endeavoured to keep a conſcience void of offence, both towards God and towards man; and therein at the leaſt have the advantage of ſuch as are very jealous they have done ſo much herein, as to ſin in what they have done, viz. in ſheltering the accuſed; ſuch have been the cowardice and fearfulneſs into which a regard to the diſſatisfaction of other people have precipitated them; which by the way muſt needs acquaint all, that for the future other meaſures are reſolved upon (by ſuch) which, how bloody they may prove when opportunity ſhall offer, is with him who orders all things according to the counſel of his own will. And now, that the ſong of angels may be the emulation of men, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, ſir, yours to command in what I may, R. C.

Glory to God in the higheſt, and on earth peace, and good will towards men.

Boſton, March the 1ſt, 1694.

Mr. B——,

Worthy Sir,

After more than a year's waiting for the per-

formance of a reiterated promiſe from one under ſingular obligations, and a multitude of advantages to have done it ſooner, the utmoſt compliance I have met with is (by your hands) the ſight of four ſheets of reſcinded papers. But I muſt firſt be obliged to return them in a fortnight, and not copied, which I have now complied with: and having read them, am not at all ſurpriſed at the author's caution, not to admit of ſuch crude matter and impertinent abſurdities, as are to be found in it. He ſeems concerned that I take no notice of his ſeveral books, wherein, as he ſaith, he has unanſwerably proved things. To this I might reply, that I have ſent him letters of quotations out of thoſe books, to know how much of them he will abide by; for I thought it hard to affix their natural conſequences, till he had opportunity to explain them. And ſaith, that he hath ſent me mr. Baxter's *World of Spirits*, an ungainſayable book, &c. (though I know no ungainſayable book but the bible;) which book, I think, no man that has read it will give ſuch a title to but the author. He ſpeaks of my reproaching his public ſermons; of which I am not conſcious to myſelf, unleſs it be about his interpretation of a thunder ſtorm (that broke into his houſe) which ſavoured ſo much of enthuſiaſm.

As to thoſe papers, I have (as I read them)

noted in the margin where, in a haſty reading, I thought it needful; of which it were unreaſonable for him to complain, ſeeing I might not take a copy, thereby to have been enabled more at leiſure to digeſt what were needful to be ſaid on ſo many heads; and as I have not flattered him, ſo, for telling what was ſo needful, with the hazard of making ſo many enemies by it, I have approved myſelf one of his beſt friends. And beſides his own ſenſe of the weakneſs of his anſwer, teſtified by the prohibition above, he has wholly declined anſwering to moſt of thoſe things that I had his promiſe for; and what he pretends to ſpeak to, after mentioning, without the needful anſwer or proof, drops it.

His firſt main work, after his definition of a witch, which he never proves (without ſaying any thing to mr. Gaule's ſcriptural deſcription, though ſo often urged to it, and though himſelf has in his book recommended and quoted it) is to magnify the devil's power, and that as I think beyond and againſt the ſcripture; this takes him up about 11 pages; and yet in page 22d he again returns to it, and, as *I* underſtand it, takes part with the phariſees againſt our Saviour in the argument; for they charge him that he caſt out devils through Beelzebub: our Saviour's anſwer is, (Matt. xii. 25) *Every kingdom divided againſt itſelf is brought to deſolation; and every*

city or houſe divided againſt itſelf ſhall not ſtand; and if ſatan caſt out ſatan, he is divided againſt himſelf; how ſhall then his kingdom ſtand? And yet, notwithſtanding this anſwer, together with what follows, for further illuſtration our author is it ſeems reſolved to aſſert, that our Saviour did not in this anſwer deny that many did ſo, viz. caſt out devils by Beelzebub; and, page 23, grants that the devils have a miraculous power, but yet it muſt not be called miraculous, and yet can be diſtinguiſhed, as he intimates, only by the conſcience or light within, to the no ſmall ſcandal of the chriſtian religion: though our Saviour and his apoſtles account this the chief or principal proof of his godhead, (*John* xx. 30, 31. *John* x. 37, 38. *John* v. 30. *Mark* xvi. 17, 18. *Acts* ii. 22. and iv. 30. with many others) and that miracles belong only to God, who alſo governs the world, (*Pſ.* cxxxvi. 4. *Jer.* xiv. 22. *Iſa.* xxxviii. 8. *Pſ.* lxii. 11. *Lam.* iii. 37. *Amos* iii. 6.) But, to forbear quoting that which the ſcripture is moſt full in, do only ſay, that he that dares aſſert the devil to have ſuch a miraculous power, had need have other ſcriptures than ever I have ſeen.

In page 12, our author proceeds, and ſtates a queſtion to this effect: If the devil has ſuch powers, and cannot exert them without permiſſion from God, what can the witch contribute

thereunto? Inſtead of an anſwer to this weighty objection, our author firſt concedes, that the devils do ordinarily exert their powers, without the witches contributing to it; but yet, that, to the end to increaſe their guilt, he may cheat a witch, by making her believe herſelf the author of them. His next is, If witchcraft be, as I ſuppoſe it is, the ſkill of applying the plaſtic ſpirit of the world, &c. then the conſent of the witch doth naturally contribute to that miſchief that the devil does. And his laſt anſwer runs to this effect: Is it not the ordination of God, that where the devil can get the conſent of a witch for the hurting of others, the hurt ſhall as certainly be as if they had ſet maſtiff dogs upon them, or had given them poiſon into their bowels? and God's providence muſt be as great in delivering from one as from the other. And this it ſeems is not only his belief, but the moſt orthodox and the moſt learned anſwer that our author could pitch upon: If witchcraft be, as I ſuppoſe it is, &c. and is it not the ordination of God, that, &c. What is all this but precarious, and begging the queſtion, and a plain dropping the argument he cannot manage? However, to amuſe the ignorant, and to confound the learned, he hooks in a cramp word, if not a nonentity, viz. plaſtic ſpirit of the world; for who is it

either knows that there is a plaſtic ſpirit, or what it is, or how this can any way ſerve his purpoſe?

He then proceeds to ſcripture inſtances of witches, &c. and where I thought it needful, I have, as I ſaid, ſhewed my diſſent from his judgment. He accounts it unreaſonable to be held to the proof of his definition of a witch, which he makes to conſiſt in a covenant with the devil; and chooſes rather a tedious proceſs about a piſtol to defend him from it, which indeed is one particular way whereby murder has been committed, and ſo the doer becomes culpable. But his definition of a witch, which, as I ſaid, ſtill remains to be proved, is to this effect: that a witch is one that covenants with and commiſſions devils to do miſchiefs; that ſhe is one in covenant, or that by virtue of ſuch covenant ſhe can commiſſion him to kill. The not bringing ſcripture to prove theſe two is a ſufficient demonſtration there is none; and ſo our author leaves off juſt where he began, viz. in a bare aſſertion, together with his own bigoted experiences, hinting alſo at multitudes of hiſtories to confirm him in the belief of his definition. Here being all that I take notice of to be conſiderable.

And now, ſir, if you think fit, improve your friendſhip with the author, for the glory of God, the ſovereign being, the good and welfare of

mankind, and for his real and true intereſt. As you ſee it convenient, put him in mind, that the glory of God is the end why mankind was made, and why he hath ſo many advantages to it: that the flames we have ſeen, threatening the utter extirpation of the country, muſt owe their original to theſe dangerous errors (if not hereſies) which, if they remain unextinguiſhed, may and moſt likely will be acted over again: that it is more honour to own an error in time, than tenaciouſly after full conviction to retain it. But if our author will again vindicate ſuch matters, pleaſe to acquaint him, that I ſhall not any more receive his papers, if I may not copy and uſe them; and that when he does, inſtead of ſuch abſtruſe matters, I ſtill pray his determination in thoſe things I have his promiſe for. And thus begging pardon for thus long detaining you, I am, ſir, yours to command,

R. C.

Boſton, March 18, 1694.

To the Miniſters, whether Engliſh, French or Dutch.

I, having had not only occaſion, but renewed provocation, to take a view of the myſterious doctrines which have of late been ſo much conteſted among us, could not meet with any that had ſpoken more, or more plainly, the ſenſe of

thoſe doctrines (relating to witchcraft) than the Rev. Mr. C. M.; but how clearly and conſiſtent, either with himſelf or the truth, I need not now ſay, but cannot but ſuppoſe his ſtrenuous and zealous aſſerting his opinions has been one cauſe of the diſmal convulſions we have here lately fallen into. Suppoſing that his books of *Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft*, as alſo his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, did contain in them things not warrantable, and very dangerous, I ſent to him a letter of quotations out of thoſe books, &c. that ſo, if it might have been, I might underſtand what tolerable ſenſe he would put upon his own words; which I took to be a better way of proceeding, than to have affixed what I thought to be their natural conſequences; and, leſt I might be judged a ſceptic, I gave him a full and free account of my belief relating to thoſe doctrines, together with the grounds thereof; and prayed him, that if I erred I might be ſhewed it by ſcripture; and this I had his reiterated promiſe for. But after more than a year's waiting for the performance thereof, all that is done in compliance therewith is, that in February laſt he ſent me four ſheets of his writing, as his belief; but before I might receive it I muſt engage to deliver it back in a fortnight, and not copied. A ſummary account of which I ſhall

give you, when I have firſt acquainted you what the doctrines were which I ſent to him for his concurrence with, or confutation of, and to which I had his promiſe, as above.

Theſe by way of queſtion, viz. Whether that fourth head, cited and recommended by himſelf (in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*) of Mr. Gaule, ought to be believed as a truth; which runs thus: "Among the moſt unhappy circumſtances to convict a witch, one is maligning and oppugning the word, work and worſhip of God, and ſeeking by an extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it. *Deut.* xiii. 1, 2. *Matt.* xxiv. 24. *Acts* xiii. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. Do but mark well the places; and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute witches."

And if in witchcraft the devil by means of a witch does the miſchief, how is it poſſible to diſtinguiſh it from poſſeſſion? both being ſaid to be performed by the devil; and yet, without an infallible diſtinction, there can be no certainty in judgment. And whether it can be proved that the Jewiſh church, in any age before, or in our Saviour's time, even in the time of their greateſt apoſtacy, did believe that a witch had power to commiſſion devils to miſchief?

So much to the queſtions. Theſe were ſent as my belief: That the devil's bounds are ſet,

that he cannot paſs; that the devils are ſo full of malice, that it cannot be added to by mankind; that where he hath power, he neither can nor will omit executing it; that it is only the Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſion him to hurt or deſtroy. And now I ſhall give you the ſummary account of his four ſheets above mentioned, as near as memory could recollect, in ten particulars.

1. That the devils have in their natures a power to work wonders and miracles; particularly that the phariſees were not miſtaken in aſſerting that the devils might be caſt out by Beelzebub; and that our Saviour's anſwer does not oppoſe that aſſertion; and that he hath the power of death; that he can make the moſt ſolid things inviſible, and can inviſibly bring poiſon, and force it down people's throats.

2. That to aſſert this natural, wonderful power of the devil, makes moſt for the glory of God, in preſerving man from its effects.

3. Yet this power is reſtrained by the Almighty, as pleaſeth him.

4. That a witch is one that makes a covenant with the devil.

5. That by virtue of ſuch a covenant, ſhe arrives at a power to commiſſion him.

6. That God has ordained that when the devil is called upon by the witch, though he

were before reſtrained by the Almighty, the deſired miſchiefs ordinarily ſhall as certainly be performed, as if the witch had lodged poiſon in the bowels of her neighbour, or had ſet maſtiff dogs on them.

7. That the witches art of applying the Plaſtic Spirit of the world to unlawful purpoſes does naturally contribute to the miſchiefs done by the Devil.

8. That that God which reſtrained an Abimelech and a Laban from hurting, does alſo reſtrain the witch from calling upon or improving the devil, when he will not have his power ſo exerted.

9. That to have a familiar ſpirit, is to be able to cauſe a devil to take bodily ſhapes, whereby either to give reſponſes, or to receive orders for doing miſchief.

10. That this is the judgment of moſt of the divines in the country, whether Engliſh, Dutch, or French.

This, as I ſaid, I took to be the moſt material in the four ſheets ſent to me as his belief, and is alſo all the performance he has yet made of his ſeveral promiſes; which ten articles being done only by memory, left through miſtake or want of the original I might have committed any errors, I ſent them to him, that, if there were any, they might be rectified: but inſtead of ſuch an anſwer as might be expected from a miniſter

and a learned gentleman, one mr. W. ſhewed me a letter writ by Mr. C. M. to himſelf, which I might read, but neither borrow nor copy, and ſo, if I were minded, could give but a ſhort account of it.

And paſſing over his hard language, which, as I am conſcious to myſelf I never deſerved, (relating to my writing in the margin of the four ſheets, and to theſe ten articles) ſo I hope I underſtand my duty better than to imitate him in retorting the like. Among his many words in his ſaid letters, I meet with two ſmall objections; one is againſt the word *miracle* in the firſt article; the word, I ſay, not the matter; for the works he attributes to the devil are the ſame, in their being above or againſt the courſe of nature and all natural cauſes; yet he will not admit of theſe to be called miracles; and hence he reckons it the greateſt difficulty he meets with in this whole affair, to diſtinguiſh the works of the devil from miracles. And hence alſo he concedes to the devil the power to make the moſt ſolid things inviſible, and inviſibly to bring poiſon, and force it down people's throats, &c. Which I look upon to be as true miracles as that 2 *Kings*, vi. 18; and this is the ſenſe I underſtand the word in; and in this ſenſe he himſelf, in the four ſheets, admits it; for he has an objection to this effect, viz. If the devils have ſuch power, &c. then miracles are not ceaſed;

and where are we then? His anſwer is, Where! Even juſt where we were before, ſay I: ſo that it ſeems the only offence here is at my uſing his words. His ſecond objection (for weight) is againſt the whole ninth article, and wonders how it is poſſible for one man ſo much to miſunderſtand another; yet, as I remember, he, ſpeaking of the witch of Endor, in the ſaid four ſheets, ſays, ſhe had a familiar ſpirit, and that a ſpirit belonging to the inviſible world, upon her calling, appeared to Saul, &c. and if ſo, it is certain he gave reſponſes. He alſo tells of Balaam, that it was known that he could ſet devils on people to deſtroy them; and therefore how this objection ſhould bear any force I ſee not. The reſt of the objections are of ſo ſmall weight, that once reading may be ſufficient to clear them up; and if this be not ſo, he can, when he pleaſes, by making it publick, together with the margins I writ, convince all people of the truth of what he aſſerts. But here it is to be noted, that the 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th articles he concedes to, as having nothing to object againſt them, but that they are his belief; and that the 6th and 7th he puts for anſwer to an objection which he thus frames, viz. If the devil have ſuch powers, but cannot exert them but by permiſſion from God, what can the witch contribute thereto?

And thus I have faithfully performed what I undertook; and do ſolemnly declare, I have not

intentionally in the leaſt wronged the gentleman concerned, nor deſigned the leaſt blemiſh to his reputation; but if it ſtands in competition with the glory of God, the only almighty being, his truths and his people's welfare, I ſuppoſe theſe too valuable to be trampled on for his ſake, though in other things I am ready to my power (though with denying ſome part of my own intereſt) to ſerve him. Had this gentleman declined or detracted his four ſheets, I ſee not but he might have done it, and which I think there was cauſe enough for him to have done; but to own the four ſheets, and at the ſame time to diſown the doctrine contained in them, and this knowing that I have no copy, renders the whole of the worſe aſpect.

And now I ſhall give you a further account of my belief, when I have firſt premiſed, that it is a prevailing belief in this country, and elſewhere, that the ſcriptures are not full in the deſcription of, and in the way and means how to detect, a witch, though poſitive in their puniſhment to be by death; and that hence they have thought themſelves under a neceſſity of taking up with the ſentiments of ſuch men or places that are thought worthy to give rules to detect them by; and have accordingly practiſed; viz. in ſearching for teats for the devil to ſuck; trying whether the ſuſpected can ſay the Lord's prayer; and whether the afflicted falls at the

ſight, and riſes at the touch, of the ſuppoſed witch; as alſo by the afflicted or poſſeſſed giving account who is the witch.

Touching theſe, my belief is, that 'tis highly derogatory to the wiſdom of the wiſe Lawgiver, to aſſert, that he has given a law by Moſes, the penalty whereof is death, and yet no direction to his people, whereby to know and detect the culpable, till our triumvirate, Meſſrs. Perkins, Gaule and Bernard, had given us their receipts; and, that that fourth head of Mr. Gaule, being ſo well proved by ſcripture, is a truth, and contains a full and clear teſtimony who are witches culpable of death, and that plainly and from ſcripture, yet not excluding any other branch, when as well proved by that infallible rule; and, that the going to the afflicted or poſſeſſed, to have them divine who are witches by their ſpectral ſight, is a great wickedneſs; even the ſin of Saul (for which he alſo died) but with this difference, the one did it for augury, or to know future events; the other, in order to take away life; and, that the ſearching for teats, the experiment of their ſaying the Lord's prayer, the falling at the ſight and riſing at the touch of the ſuppoſed criminal, being all of them foreign from ſcripture, as well as reaſon, are abominations to be abhorred and repented of; and, that our Salem witchcraft, either reſpect-

ing the judges and juries, their tenderneſs of life, or the multitude and pertinency of witneſſes, both afflicted and confeſſors, or the integrity of the hiſtorians, is as authentic, and made as certain, as any event of that kind in the world. And yet who is it that now ſees not through it, and that theſe were the ſentiments that have procured the ſoreſt affliction and moſt laſting infamy, that ever befel this country, and moſt like ſo to do again, if the ſame notions be ſtill entertained? and, finally, that theſe are thoſe laſt times, of which the Spirit ſpeaks expreſſly, *Tim.* iv. 1?

And now, ye that are fathers in the churches, guides to the people, and the ſalt of the earth, I beſeech you conſider theſe things; and if you find the glory of God diminiſhed by aſcribing ſuch power to witches and devils; his truths oppoſed by theſe notions; and his people aſperſed in their doctrines and reputations, and endangered in their lives — I dare not dictate you — you know your duty as watchmen — and the Lord be with you.

But if you find my belief contrary to ſound doctrine, I entreat you to ſhew it me by the ſcripture; and in the mean time blame me not if I cannot believe that there are ſeveral Almighties; for to do all ſorts of wonders, beyond and above the courſe of nature, is certainly the

work of Omnipotency. So alſo, he that ſhall commiſſion or empower to theſe, muſt alſo be almighty; and I think it not a ſufficient *ſalvo*, to ſay they may be reſtrained by the Moſt High; and hope you will not put any hard conſtruction on theſe my endeavours to get information (all other ways failing) in things ſo needful to be known. Praying the Almighty's guidance and protection, I am

Yours to the utmoſt of my power,

R. C.

Boſton, Sept. the 20*th*, 1695.

MR. SAMUEL WILLARD,

Reverend Sir,

My former, of March the 18th, directed to the Miniſters (and which was lodged with yourſelf) containing ſeveral articles which I ſent as my belief, praying them if I erred to ſhew it me by ſcripture, I have as yet had no anſwer to, either by word or writing, which makes me gather that they are approved of as *orthodox*, or at leaſt that they have ſuch foundations as that none are willing to manifeſt any oppoſition to them; and therefore, with ſubmiſſion, &c. I think that that late ſeaſonable and well-deſigned dialogue, intituled, *Some Miſcellaneous Obſervations*, &c. of which yourſelf is the ſuppoſed author, and which was ſo ſerviceable in the time

of it, is yet liable to a mal-conſtruction, even to the danger of reviving what it moſt oppoſes, and of bringing thoſe practices again on foot, which in the day of them were ſo terrible to this whole country. The words, which I ſuppoſe ſo liable to miſconſtruction, are, p. 14, B. *Who informed them?* S. *The ſpectre.* B. *Very good, and that's the devil turned informer. How are good men like to fare, againſt whom he hath particular malice? It is but a preſumption, and wiſe men will weigh preſumptions againſt preſumptions. There is to be no examination without grounds of ſuſpicion. Some perſons credit nothing to be accounted too good to be undermined ſo far as to be ſuſpected on ſo ſlight a ground; and it is an injury done them to bring them upon examination, which renders them openly ſuſpected. I will not deny but for perſons already ſuſpected, and of ill fame, it may occaſion their being examined.* In which, theſe words, *'tis but a preſumption*, &c. and *ſome perſons credit*, &c. and *I will not deny but for perſons already ſuſpected*, &c. I take to be waiving the diſcuſſion of thoſe points, the ſpeaking to which might at that time have hindered the uſefulneſs and ſucceſs of that book, rather than any declaring the ſentiments of the author. But notwithſtanding, many perſons will be ready to underſtand this as if the author did wholly leave it with the juſtice, to judge who are ill perſons,

ſuch as the devil's accuſations may faſten upon; and that the devil's accuſation of a perſon is a preſumption againſt them of their guilt; and that, upon ſuch preſumptions, they may be had to examination, if the juſtice counts them perſons of ill fame; for the author I ſuppoſe knows that the bare examination will leave ſuch a ſtain upon them (and it would be well if their poſterity eſcaped it!) as the length of a holy and unblamable life will be found too ſhort to extirpate. And if the juſtice may go thus far with the devil's evidence, then the addition of a ſtory or two of ſome cart overſet, or perſons taken ſick after a quarrel, might as well be thought ſufficient for their commitment, in order to their trial, as 'tis called, (though this too often has been more like a ſtage play, or a *tragi-comic ſcene*) and ſo that otherways uſeful book may prove the greateſt ſnare to revive the ſame practices again.

Theſe things being ſo liable, as I ſaid, to ſuch mal-conſtruction, it were needful that men might be undeceived, and the matter more fully demonſtrated, viz. That the devil's accuſation is not ſo much as any preſumption againſt the life or reputation of any perſon; (for how are good men like to fare, if his malicious accuſations may be taken as a preſumption of their guilt?) and, that his accuſations, as they are no

preſumption againſt perſons of unſpotted fame, ſo neither are to be heard, or any ways regarded, againſt perſons though otherways of ill life, much leſs for their having long ſince had their names abuſed by his outcries, or by the malice of ill neighbours; and, that juſtice knows no difference of perſons; that, if this evidence be ſufficient to bring one perſon, 'tis ſo to bring any other, to examination, and conſequently to the utmoſt extent of odium which ſuch examination will certainly expoſe them to; for who can know any other, but that as the one may be maliciouſly accuſed by devils and a deviliſh report gone before it, ſo that another, who has not been ſo much as accuſed before, being more cunning or more ſeeming religious, might yet be more guilty; the whole depending upon inviſible evidence, of which inviſible ſtuff, though we have had more than ſufficient, yet I find (among other reverend perſons) your name to a certain printed paper, which runs thus:

Certain Propoſals, made by the Preſident and Fellows of Harvard College to the reverend Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the ſeveral churches of New-England.

Firſt. To obſerve and record the more illuſtrious diſcoveries of the Divine Providence in the government of the world, is a deſign ſo holy, ſo uſeful, ſo juſtly approved, that the too general neglect of it in the churches of God is as juſtly to be lamented.

2. For the redreſs of that neglect, although all chriſtians have a duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recom-

mended unto the Miniſters of the goſpel to improve the ſpecial advantages which are in their hands, to obtain and preſerve the knowledge of ſuch notable occurrences as are ſought out by all that have pleaſure in the great works of the Lord.

3. The things to be eſteemed memorable, are ſpecially all unuſual accidents in the heaven, or earth, or water; all wonderful deliverances of the diſtreſſed; mercies to the godly; judgments on the wicked; and more glorious fulfilments of either the promiſes or threatenings in the ſcriptures of truth; with apparitions, poſſeſſions, enchantments, and all extraordinary things, wherein the exiſtence and agency of the Inviſible World is more ſenſibly demonſtrated.

4. It is therefore propoſed, that the Miniſters throughout this land would manifeſt their pious regards unto the works of the Lord, and the operation of his hands, by reviving their cares to take written accounts of ſuch *Remarkables;* but ſtill well atteſted with credible and ſufficient witneſſes.

5. It is deſired that the accounts, thus taken, of theſe remarkables, may be ſent to the Preſident or Fellows of the college, by whom they ſhall be carefully reſerved for ſuch a uſe to be made of them, as may by ſome fit aſſembly of Miniſters be judged moſt conducing to the glory of God, and the ſervice of his people.

6. Though we doubt not that love to the name of God will be a ſufficient motive to all good men to contribute what aſſiſtance they can unto this undertaking; yet, for further encouragement, ſome ſingular marks of reſpect ſhall be ſtudied for ſuch good men, as will actually aſſiſt it, by taking pains to communicate any important paſſages proper to be inſerted in this collection.

INCREASE MATHER, Pres.

James Allen,	*John Leverette,*
Char. Morton,	*Will. Brattle,*
Sam. Willard,	*Neh. Walter,*
Cotton Mather,	

Fellows.

Cambridge, March 5, 1694.

NOTE. — It is known that Dr. Increaſe Mather deſigned to publiſh a book concerning things rare and wonderful, occurring around him. It would ſeem from this circular addreſſed to the clergy, that he was deſirous of collecting materials for the work.

Here being an encouragement to all good men to ſend in ſuch remarkables as are therein expreſſed, I have ſent in the following; not that I think them a more ſenſible demonſtration of the being of a future ſtate (with rewards and puniſhments) or of angels good and bad, &c. than the ſcriptures of truth hold forth, &c.; or than any of thoſe other demonſtrations God hath given us; for this were treacherouſly and perfidiouſly to quit the poſt to the enemy. The ſadducee, deiſt and atheiſt would hereby be put in a condition ſo triumphantly to deny the exiſtence and agency thereof, as that a few ſtories told (which at beſt muſt be owned to be fallible and liable to miſrepreſentations) could not be thought infallibly ſufficient to demonſtrate the truth againſt them. I have heard that in logick a falſe argument is reckoned much worſe than none; yet, ſuppoſing that a collection of inſtances may be many ways uſeful, not only to the preſent but ſucceeding ages, I have ſent you the following remarkables, which have lately occurred, the certainty of which, if any ſcruple it, will be found no hard matter to get ſatisfaction therein. But here, not to inſiſt on thoſe leſs occurrences, as the ſudden death of one of our late juſtices; and a like mortality that fell upon the two ſons of another of them; with the fall of a man that was making proviſion to raiſe the

new northern bell, which, when it was up, the firſt perſon, whoſe death it was to ſignify, was ſaid to be a child of him, who, by printing and ſpeaking, had had as great a hand in procuring the late actions as any, if not the greateſt; and the ſplitting the gun at Salem, where that furious marſhal, and his father, &c. were rent to pieces, &c. As to all theſe, it muſt be owned, that no man knows love or hatred by all that is before him, much leſs can they be more ſenſible demonſtrations of the exiſtence and agency of the inviſible world, than the ſcriptures of truth afford, &c. though the rich man in the parable might think otherwiſe, &c. who was ſeeking to ſend ſome more ſenſible demonſtrations thereof to his brethren, &c. In that tremendous judgment of God upon this country, by the late amazing proſecution of the people here, under the notion of witches; whereby twenty ſuffered as evil doers, (beſides thoſe that died in priſon) about ten more condemned, and a hundred impriſoned, and about two hundred more accuſed, and the country generally in fears when it would come to their turn to be accuſed; and the proſecution and manner of trial ſuch, that moſt would have choſen to have fallen into the hands of the barbarous enemy, rather than (under that notion) into the hands of their brethren in church fellowſhip; and, in ſhort, was ſuch an

affliction as far exceeded all that ever this country hath laboured under—

Yet in this mount God is ſeen. When it was thus bad with this diſtreſſed people, a full and a ſudden ſtop is put, not only without, but againſt, the inclination of many; for out of the eater came forth meat: thoſe very accuſers, which had been improved as witneſſes againſt ſo many, by the providence of the Moſt High, and perhaps blinded with malice, are left to accuſe thoſe in moſt high eſteem, both magiſtrates and miniſters, as guilty of witchcraft; which ſhewed our rulers, that neceſſity lay upon them to confound that which had ſo long confounded the country, as being themſelves unwilling to run the ſame riſk: this, that was in the event of it, to this country, as life from the dead, is moſt eaſy with Him, in whoſe hands are the hearts of all men, and was a very ſignal deliverance to this whole country. No leſs obſervable was it, that though at the time when the devil's teſtimony, by the afflicted, was firſt laid aſide, there were great numbers of (real or pretended) afflicted; yet when this was once not judged of validity enough to be any longer brought into the court againſt the accuſed as evidence, the affliction generally ceaſed, and only ſome remainders of it in ſuch places, where more encouragement was given to the actors, God ſeeming thereby plainly to decipher

that ſin of going to the devil, &c. as the riſe and foundation of thoſe puniſhments.

And thus, reverend, I have, as I underſtand it, performed my duty herein, for the glory of God, and the well-being of men. And for my freedom uſed in this and former writings, relating to the actors in this tragedy, I ſhall not apologize, but give you the words of one to whom ſome can afford the title of venerable (when he is arguing for that which they have undertaken to aſſert, though at other times more diminutive epithets muſt ſerve); it is the reverend mr. R. Baxter, in his book, *the Cure of Church Diviſions*, pages 257, 258. "But [I pray you mark it] the way of God is to ſhame the ſinner, how good ſoever in other reſpects, that the ſin may have the greater ſhame, and religion may not be aſhamed, as if it allowed men to ſin: nor God, the author of religion, be diſhonoured; nor others be without the warning: but the way of the devil is, to hide or juſtify the ſin, as if it were for fear of diſparaging the goodneſs of the perſons that committed it; that ſo he may hereby diſhonour religion, and godlineſs itſelf, and make men believe it is but a cover for any wickedneſs, and as conſiſtent with it as a looſer life is, and that he may keep the ſinner from repenting, and blot out the memory of that warning which ſhould have preſerved after ages from

the like falls. Scripture ſhameth the profeſſors (though a *David*, a *Solomon*, *Peter*, *Noah*, *or Lot*) that the religion profeſt may not be aſhamed, but vindicated. Satan would preſerve the honour of profeſſors, that the religion profeſſed may bear the ſhame; and ſo it may fall on God himſelf."

And now that all that have had a hand in any horrid and bloody practices may be brought to give glory to God, and take the due ſhame to themſelves; and that our watchmen may no longer ſeek to palliate, (much leſs give thanks for ſuch, &c. thereby making them their own) and that the people may no longer periſh for want of knowledge in the midſt of ſuch means of light, nor God be any longer diſhonoured by falſe ſentiments in theſe matters, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, ſir, yours to my power,

R. C.

MR. COTTON MATHER,

Reverend Sir,

Having long ſince ſent you ſome doctrinals as to my belief, together with my requeſt to you, that if I erred you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by ſcripture, viz. That the devil's bounds are ſet, which he cannot paſs; that the devils are ſo full of malice that it cannot be added to by mankind; that where he hath power he neither can nor will omit executing it; that 'tis only the

Almighty that ſets bounds to his rage, and that only can commiſſion him to hurt and deſtroy, &c. But inſtead of ſuch an anſwer as was promiſed and juſtly expected, you were pleaſed to ſend me a book, which you ſince called an ungainſayable one; which book till lately I have not had opportunity ſo fully to conſider. And to the end you may ſee I have now done it, I have ſent to you ſome of the remarkables contained in the ſaid book, intituled, "*The Certainty of the World of Spirits*," *written by Mr.* R. B. *London, printed* 1691. It is therein conceded (preface) that to ſee devils and ſpirits ordinarily would not be enough to convince atheiſts. Page 88, Atheiſts are not to be convinced by ſtories; their own ſenſes are not enough to convince them any more than ſenſe will convince a papiſt from tranſubſtantiation. (*D. Laderd.*) P. 4, No ſpirit can do any thing but by God's will and permiſſion. Preface, 'Tis the free will of man that gives the devils their hurting power; and without our own conſent they cannot hurt us. It is aſſerted, p. 222, 223, That it is a perverſe oppoſition of popery which cauſes many proteſtants not to regard the benefits we receive by angels. And miniſters are faulty, that do not pray and give thanks to God for their miniſtry; and that neglect to teach believers, what love and what thanks they owe to angels. P. 225,

Moſt good people look ſo much to God and to miniſters, that they take little notice of angels, which are God's great miniſters. P. 234, The author dares not, as ſome have done, judge the catholick church to become antichriſtian idolaters, as ſoon as they gave too much worſhip to ſaints and angels. P. 7, The bleſſed ſouls ſhall be like the angels, therefore may appear here. P. 3, 4, 'Tis hard to know whether it be a devil or a human ſoul that appears, or whether the ſoul of a good or a bad perſon; p. 61, or the ſoul of ſome dead friend that ſuffers, and yet retains love, &c. P. 222, No doubt the ſouls of the wicked carry with them their former inclinations of covetouſneſs, revenge, &c. P. 7, When revengeful things are done, as on murderers, defrauders, &c. it ſeems to be from the revengeful wrath of ſome bad ſoul; if it be about money or lands, then from a worldly-minded one; ſome ſignifications of God's mercy to wicked ſouls after this life. P. 4, 'Tis a doubt whether, beſides the angels (good and bad) and the ſouls of men, there is not a third ſort, called fairies and goblins. It is unſearchable to us how far God leaves ſpirits to free will in ſmall things, ſuſpending his predetermining motion. P. 246, The devils have a marvellous power, if but a ſilly wretched witch conſent. P. 10, 202, The ſtories of witches and ſpirits are many ways uſeful, particularly to con-

vince atheiſts, and confirm believers, and to prove the operation of ſpirits. P. 232, To help men to underſtand that devils make no ſmall number of laws, and rulers in the world, and are authors of moſt of the wars, and of many ſermons, and of books that adorn the libraries of learned men. P. 6, 102, The devil's lying with the witch is not to be denied, and is more to exerciſe the luſt of the witch than of the devil, who can alſo bring in another witch without opening the door, and ſo perform it by one witch with another. P. 105, Witches can raiſe ſtorms, ſell winds, &c. as is commonly affirmed. P. 107, In America it is a common thing to ſee ſpirits, day and night. P. 95, 96, 97, 110, Stories of a child that could not be cured of witchcraft, becauſe the ember-weeks were paſt; vomited a knife a ſpan long, cart nails, &c. and neither eat nor drank, fifteen days and nights together; a long piece of wood, four knives, and two ſharp pieces of iron, every one above a ſpan long, taken out of the ſtomach, &c. hair, ſtones, bones, vomited, &c. a thouſand pounds of blood loſt by one perſon in a year's time. P. 250, A ſtory that makes the author think it poſſible that ſuch great things, as he mentions, ſhould be gotten down and up people's throats. P. 164, Partial credibility ſpoils many a good ſtory. P. 125, The devil's ſubſtance enters into the poſſeſſed.

P. 174, Diſtracted are poſſeſſed. P. 149, A ſick woman, while ſhe lay in bed, went to ſee her children. P. 153, A dog appeared like a fly or a flea. P. 165, Some knowing agents direct thunder-ſtorms, though the author knows not who; and that they ſo often fall on churches, he knows not why. P. 2, 80, mr. I. M. and mr. C. M. recommended, together with Bodin, &c. P. 237, A criſpian, if through ignorance he believes not what he ſaith, may be a chriſtian.

In this, ſir, I ſuppoſe that if I have not wronged the ſenſe of the author in the places quoted (which I truſt you ſhall not find I have done) I cannot be thought accountable for the errors or contradictions to himſelf or to the truth, if any ſuch be found, particularly what he grants in the preface, of the free will of man giving the devil his hurting power; this being not only more than thoſe called witch-advocates would deſire to be conceded to them, but is a palpable and manifeſt overturning the author's deſign in all his witch ſtories; (for who would conſent to have the devil afflict himſelf?) as alſo his conceſſion, that no ſpirit can do any thing but by God's will and permiſſion; I cannot perſuade myſelf but you muſt be ſenſible of their apparent contradictorineſs to the reſt. Others there are of a very ill aſpect; as p. 234, the catholicks are much encouraged in their adoration of angels

and ſaints, if that were ſo innocent as not to render them antichriſtian idolaters; and that, p. 4, if admitted, will ſeem to lay an ungainſayable foundation for the pagan, indian and diaboliſt's faith, by telling us it is beyond our ſearch to know how far God leaves the devils to free will, to do what they pleaſe, in this world, with a ſuſpenſion of God's predetermination; which if it were a truth, what were more rational than to oblige him that has ſuch power over us? The atheiſts alſo would take encouragement if it were granted that we cannot know how far God ſuſpends his predetermining motion: they would thence affirm, we as little know that there is a predetermining motion, and conſequently whether there be a God, and p. 165 would abundantly ſtrengthen them, when ſuch a learned, experienced and highly-eſteemed chriſtian ſhall own that he knows not who it is that governs the thunder-ſtorms: for it might as well diſcover ignorance, who it is that diſpoſes of earthquakes, gun-ſhot, and afflictions that befal any, with the reſt of mundane events. I deſign not to remark all that in the book is remarkable, ſuch as the departed ſouls wandering again hither to put men upon revenge, &c. ſavouring ſo much of Pythagoras's tranſmigration of ſouls, and the ſeparation of the ſoul from the body without death, as in the caſe of her that went to ſee her

children, while yet ſhe did not ſtir out of her bed, which ſeems to be a new ſpeculation; unleſs it determines in favour of tranſubſtantiation, that a body may be at the ſame time in ſeveral places. Upon the whole, it is ungainſayable, that that book, though ſo highly extolled, may be juſtly expected to occaſion the ſtaggering of the weak, and the hardening of unbelievers in their infidelity. And it ſeems amazing, that you ſhould not only give it ſuch a recommendation, but that you ſhould ſend it to me, in order (as I take it) to pervert me from the belief of thoſe fundamental doctrinals (above recited) though I account them more firm than heaven and earth. But that which is yet more ſtrange to me, is, that mr. B's friends did not adviſe him better, than in his declined age to emit ſuch crude matter to the publick. As to the ſometime reverend author, let his works praiſe the remembrance of him; but for ſuch as are either erroneous and foiſted upon him, or the effect of an aged imbecility, let them be detected, that they may proceed no further.

I am not ignorant that the manner of education of youth, in, I think, almoſt all chriſtian ſchools, hath a natural tendency to propagate thoſe doctrines of devils heretofore ſolely profeſt among ethnicks, and particularly in matters of witchcraft, &c. For, notwithſtanding the coun-

cil of Carthage, taking notice that the chriſtian doctors did converſe much with the writings of the heathens for the gaining of eloquence, forbad the reading of the books of the gentiles; yet it ſeems this was only a bill without a penalty, which their ſucceſſors did not look upon to be binding. He that ſhould in this age take a view of the ſchools, might be induced to believe that the ages ſince have thought, that without ſuch heathen learning a man cannot be ſo accompliſhed, as to have any pretence to academick literature; and that the vulgar might not be without the benefit of ſuch learning, ſome of their diſciples have taught them to ſpeak Engliſh, which has given me the opportunity to ſend you theſe following verſes.

Virg. Bucolicks — Ecl. 13.

Sure love is not the cauſe their bones appear;
Some eyes bewitch my tender lambs, I fear.

Ecl. 8.

For me theſe herbs in Pontus, Mæris choſe;
There ev'ry powerful drug in plenty grows;
Transform'd to a wolf I often Mæris ſaw,
Then into ſhady woods himſelf withdraw:
Oft he from deepeſt ſepulchres would charm
Departed ſouls; and from another's farm,
Into his own ground, corn yet ſtanding take.
Now from the town my charms bring Daphnis back.
Vanquiſh'd with charms, from heaven the moon deſcends,
Circe with charms transform'd Ulyſſes' friends;
Charms in the field will burſt a poiſonous ſnake.
Now from the town, &c.

Ovid's Metam. Lib. 7.

Her arms thrice turns about, thrice wets her crown
With gather'd dew, thrice yawns, and kneeling down,
Oh night! thou friend to ſecrets! you, clear fires,
That with the moon ſucceed when day retires;
Great Hecate thou know'ſt, and aid imparts,
To our deſign, your charms and magick arts:
And thou, oh earth, that to magicians yields
Thy powerful ſimples; air, winds, mountains, fields,
Soft murmuring ſprings, ſtill lakes, and rivers clear,
Ye gods of woods, ye gods of night, appear;
By you, at will, I make ſwift ſtreams retire
To their firſt fountain, while their banks admire;
Seas rough make ſmooth; clear ſkies with clouds deform;
Storms turn to calms, and make a calm a ſtorm.
With ſpells and charms, I break the viper's jaw,
Cleave ſolid rocks, oaks from their fiſſures draw;
Whole woods remove, the airy mountains ſhake;
Earth force to groan, and ghoſts from graves awake.

Lib. 14.

———— her journey takes
To Rhegium, oppoſite to Zante's ſhore,
And treads the troubled waves, that loudly roar;
Running with unwet feet on that profound,
As if ſh' had trod upon the ſolid ground.
This with portentous poiſon ſhe pollutes,
Beſprinkled with the juice of wicked roots;
In words dark and perplexed, nine times thrice,
Enchantments utters with her wicked voice, &c.

Theſe fables of the heathens (though in themſelves of no more validity than the idle tales of an indian, or the diſcourſes of a known romancer) are become the ſchool-learning, not to ſay the faith, of chriſtians, and are the ſcriptures brought (inſtead of that moſt ſure word) if not to prove

doctrine, yet as illuſtrations thereof. *Caſes of Conſcience concerning Witchc. page* 25: *Remarkable Providences, page* 250. This perhaps might be the cauſe that in England, a people otherwiſe ſober and religious, have for ſome ages in a manner wholly refuſed admitting thoſe not ſo educated to the work of the miniſtry. Such education and practice have ſo far prevailed, that it has been a means of corrupting the chriſtian world, almoſt to that degree as to be ungainſayable; for though there is reaſon to hope that theſe diabolical principles have not ſo prevailed (with multitudes of chriſtians) as that they aſcribe to a witch and a devil the attributes peculiar to the Almighty; yet how few are willing to be found oppoſing ſuch a torrent, as knowing that in ſo doing they ſhall be ſure to meet with oppoſition to the utmoſt, from the many, both of magiſtrates, miniſters and people; and the name of ſadducee, atheiſt, and perhaps witch too, caſt upon them moſt liberally, by men of the higheſt profeſſion in godlineſs; and if not ſo learned as ſome of themſelves, then accounted only fit to be trampled on, and their arguments (though both rational and ſcriptural) as fit only for contempt. But though this be the deplorable dilemma, yet ſome have dared from time to time (for the glory of God, and the good and ſafety of men's lives, &c.) to run all theſe riſks.

And that God who has ſaid, *My glory I will not give to another*, is able to protect thoſe that are found doing their duty herein againſt all oppoſers; and, however otherways contemptible, can make them uſeful in his own hand, who has ſometimes choſen the weakeſt inſtruments, that his power may be the more illuſtrious.

And now, reverend ſir, if you are conſcious to yourſelf, that you have, in your principles or practices, been abetting to ſuch grand errors, I cannot ſee how it can conſiſt with ſincerity, to be ſo convinced in matters ſo nearly relating to the glory of God, and lives of innocents, and at the ſame time ſo much to fear diſparagement among men, as to trifle with conſcience, and diſſemble an approving of former ſentiments. You know that word, *He that honoureth me I will honour, and he that deſpiſeth me ſhall be lightly eſteemed.* But if you think that in theſe matters you have done your duty, and taught the people theirs; and that the doctrines cited from the above mentioned book are ungainſayable; I ſhall conclude in almoſt his words, He that teaches ſuch doctrine, if through ignorance he believes not what he ſaith, may be a chriſtian; but if he believes them, he is in the broad path to heatheniſm, deviliſm, popery, or atheiſm. It is a ſolemn caution, (Gal. i. 8) *But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other goſpel unto*

you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accurſed. I hope you will not miſconſtrue my intentions herein, who am, reverend ſir, yours to command in what I may, R. C.

To the Miniſters in and near Boſton.

Jan. 12, 1696.

Chriſtianity had been but a ſhort time in the world, when there was raiſed againſt it, not only open profeſt enemies, but ſecret and inbred underminers, who ſought thereby to effect that which open force had been ſo often baffled in. And notwithſtanding that primitive purity and ſincerity, which in ſome good meaſure was ſtill retained, yet the cunning deceivers and apoſtate hereticks found opportunity to beguile the unwary, and this in fundamentals.

Among others which then ſprung up, with but too much advantage, in the third century, the maniche did ſpread his peſtiferous ſentiments, and taught the exiſtence of two beings, or cauſes of all things, viz. a good and a bad: but theſe were ſoon ſilenced by the more orthodox doctors, and anathematized by general councils. And at this day the American indians, another ſort of maniche, entertaining (thus far) the ſame belief, hold it their prudence and intereſt to pleaſe that evil being, as well by perpetrating other murders, as by their bloody ſacrifices, that ſo he may not

harm them. The iron teeth of time have now almoſt devoured the name of the former; and as to the latter, it is to be hoped that as chriſtianity prevails among them, they will abhor ſuch abominable belief.

And as thoſe primitive times were not privileged againſt the ſpreading of dangerous hereſy, ſo neither can any now pretend to any ſuch immunity, though profeſſing the enjoyment of a primitive purity.

Might a judgment be made from the books of the modern learned divines, or from the practice of courts, or from the faith of many who call themſelves chriſtians, it might be modeſtly, though ſadly, concluded, that the doctrine of the maniche, at leaſt great part of it, is ſo far from being forgotten, that it is almoſt every where profeſt. We in theſe ends of the earth need not ſeek far for inſtances in each reſpect to demonſtrate this. The books here printed and recommended, not only by the reſpective authors, but by many of their brethren, do ſet forth that the devil inflicts plagues,* wars,† diſeaſes,‡ tempeſts,§ and can render the moſt ſolid things inviſible,‖ and can do things above and againſt the courſe of nature, and all natural cauſes.

* Wonders of the Inviſible World, p. 17, 18. —— † p. 18. —— ‡ Caſes of Conſcience, p. 63. —— § Remarkable Providences, p. 124. —— ‖ Wonders of the Inviſible World, p. 141.

Are theſe the expreſſions of orthodox believers? or are they not rather expreſſions becoming a maniche, or a heathen, as agreeing far better with theſe than with the ſacred oracles, our only rule? the whole current whereof is ſo diametrically oppoſite thereto, that it were almoſt endleſs to mention all the divine cautions againſt ſuch abominable belief; he that runs may read, *Ps.* lxii. 11, and cxxxvi. 4. *Lam.* iii. 37. *Amos* iii. 6. *Jer.* iv. 22. *Ps.* lxxviii. 26, and clxviii. 6, 8. *Job* xxxviii. 22 to 34.

Theſe places, with a multitude more, do abundantly teſtify, that the aſſerters of ſuch power to be in the evil being, do ſpeak in a dialect different from the ſcriptures, (laying a firm foundation for the indians' adorations, which agrees well with what A. Roſs ſets forth, in his Miſtag. Poetic. p. 116, that their ancients did worſhip the furies and their god *Averinci*, that they might forbear to hurt them.)

And have not the courts in ſome parts of the world, by their practices, teſtified their concurrence with ſuch belief; proſecuting to death many people upon that notion, of their improving ſuch power of the evil one, to the raiſing of ſtorms; afflicting and killing of others, though at great diſtance from them; doing things in their own perſons above human ſtrength; deſtroying cattle, flying in the air, turning them-

ſelves into cats, dogs, &c.? which by the way muſt needs imply ſomething of goodneſs to be in that evil being, who, though he has ſuch power, would not exert it, were it not for this people, or elſe that they can ſome way add to this mighty power.

And are the people a whit behind in their belief? Is there any thing above mentioned, their ſtrong faith looks upon to be too hard for this evil being to effect?

Here it will be anſwered, God permits it. Which anſwer is ſo far an owning the doctrine, that the devil has in his nature a power to do all theſe things, and can exert this power, except when he is reſtrained, that it is in effect to ſay that God has made nature to fight againſt itſelf; that he has made a creature, who has it in the power of his nature to overthrow nature, and to act above and againſt it. Which he that can believe may as well believe the greateſt contradiction. That being which can do this in the ſmalleſt thing, can do it in the greateſt. If Moſes, with a bare permiſſion, might ſtretch forth his rod, yet he was not able to bring plagues upon the Egyptians, or to divide the waters, without a commiſſion from the Moſt High; ſo neither can that evil being perform any of this without a commiſſion from the ſame power. The ſcripture recites more miracles

wrought by men than by angels good and bad. Though this doctrine be ſo diſhonourable to the only Almighty Being, as to aſcribe ſuch attributes to the evil one, as are the incommunicable prerogative of him, who is the alone Sovereign Being, yet here is not all; but, as he that ſteers by a falſe compaſs, the further he ſails the more he is out of his way; ſo, though there is in ſome things a variation from, there is in others a further progreſſion in, or building upon, the ſaid doctrine of the maniche.

Men in this age are not content barely to believe ſuch an exorbitant power to be in the nature of this evil being; but have imagined that he prevails with many to ſign a book, or make a contract with him, whereby they are enabled to perform all the things above mentioned. Another account is given hereof, viz. That by virtue of ſuch a covenant they attain power to commiſſion him. And though the two parties are not agreed which to put it upon, whether the devil empowers the witch, or the witch commiſſions him; yet both parties are agreed in this, that one way or other the miſchief is effected, and ſo the criminal becomes culpable of death. In the ſearch after ſuch a ſort of criminals, how many countries have fallen into ſuch convulſions, that neither the devaſtations made by a conquering enemy,

nor the plague itſelf, have been ſo formidable. That not only good perſons have thus been blemiſhed in their reputations, but much innocent blood hath been ſhed, is teſtified even by thoſe very books: *Caſes of Conſcience*, p. 33. *Remarkable Provid.* p. 179. *Memor. Provid.* p. 28.

And (to add) what leſs can be expected, when men, having taken up ſuch a belief, of covenanting, afflicting and killing witches, and, comparing it with the ſcripture, finding no footſteps therein of ſuch a ſort of witch, have thereupon deſperately concluded, that though the ſcripture is full in it, that a witch ſhould not live, yet that it has not at all deſcribed the crime, nor means whereby the culpable might be detected?

And hence they are fallen ſo far as to reckon it neceſſary to make uſe of thoſe diabolical and bloody ways, always heretofore practiſed, for their diſcovery; as finding that the rules, given to detect other crimes, are wholly uſeleſs for the diſcovery of ſuch.

This is that which has produced that deluge of blood mentioned, and muſt certainly do ſo again, the ſame belief remaining.

And who can wonder, if chriſtians that are ſo eaſily prevailed with to lay aſide their ſwords as uſeleſs, and ſo have loſt their

ſtrength, are (with Samſon) led blindfold into an idol temple, to make ſport for enemies and infidels, and to do abominable actions, not only not chriſtian, but againſt even the light of nature and reaſon? And now, reverend fathers, you who are appointed as guides to the people, and whoſe lips ſhould preſerve knowledge; who are ſet as ſhepherds, and as watchmen; this matter appertains to you. I wrote to you formerly under this head, and acquainted you with my ſentiments, requeſting that if I erred, you would be pleaſed to ſhew it me by ſcripture; but from your ſilence I gather that you approve thereof. For I may reaſonably preſume, that you would have ſeen it your duty to have informed me better, if you had been ſenſible of any error. But if in this matter you have acquitted yourſelves becoming the titles you are dignified with, you have cauſe of rejoicing in the midſt of calamities that afflict a ſinning world.

Particularly, if you have taught the people to fear God, and truſt in him, and not to fear a witch or a devil — That the devil has no power to afflict any with diſeaſes, or loſs of cattle, &c. without a commiſſion from the Moſt High — That he is ſo filled with malice, that whatever commiſſion he may have againſt any, he will not fail to execute it — That no mortal ever

was, or can be, able to commiſſion him, or to lengthen his chain in the leaſt, and that he who only can commiſſion him is God; and that the ſcriptures of truth not only aſſign the puniſhment of a witch, but give ſufficient rules to detect them by; and that, according to mr. Gaule's fourth head, a witch is one that hates and oppoſes the word, work and worſhip of God, and ſeeks by a ſign to ſeduce therefrom — That they who are guilty according to that head, are guilty of witchcraft, and by the law given to Moſes were to be put to death: — If you have taught the people the neceſſity of charity, and the evil of entertaining ſo much as a jealouſy againſt their neighbours for ſuch crimes, upon the devil's ſuggeſtions to a perſon pretending to a ſpectral or diabolical ſight; who utter their oracles from malice, frenzy, or a ſatanical deluſion — That to be inquiſitive of ſuch, whoſe ſpectres they ſee, or who it is that afflicts, in order to put the accuſed's life in queſtion, is a wickedneſs beyond what Saul was guilty of in going to the witch — That to conſult with the dead, by the help of ſuch as pretend to this ſpectral ſight, and ſo to get information againſt the life of any perſon, is the worſt ſort of necromancy — That the pretending to drive away ſpectres, i. e. devils, with the hand, or by ſtriking theſe to wound a perſon at a diſtance, cannot be

without witchcraft, as pretending to a ſign in order to deceive in matters of ſo high a nature — That 'tis ridiculous to think, by making laws againſt feeding, employing or rewarding of evil ſpirits, thereby to get rid of them — That their nature requires no ſucking to ſupport it — That it is a horrid injury and barbarity to ſearch thoſe parts, which even nature itſelf commands the concealing of, to find ſome excreſcence to be called a teat for theſe to ſuck; which yet is ſaid ſometimes to appear as a fleabite: — Finally, if you have taught the people what to believe and practiſe, as to the probation of the accuſed, by their ſaying or not ſaying the Lord's prayer, and as to praying that the afflicted may be able to accuſe, and have not ſhunned in theſe matters to declare the whole mind of God; you have then well acquitted yourſelves (in time of general defection) as faithful watchmen. But if, inſtead of this, you have, ſome by word and writing propagated, and others recommended, ſuch doctrines, and abetted the falſe notions, which are ſo prevalent in this apoſtate age, it is high time to conſider it. If when authority found themſelves almoſt nonpluſt in ſuch proſecutions, and ſent to you for your advice what they ought to do,* and you have then thanked them for what they had already done (and

* Caſes of Conſcience, vlt.

thereby encouraged them to proceed in thoſe very by-paths already fallen into) it ſo much the more nearly concerns you. Ezek. xxiii. 2 to 8.

To conclude: This whole people are invited and commanded to humble their ſouls before God, as for other cauſes, for the errors that may have been fallen into in theſe proſecutions on either hand, and to pray that God would teach us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs, that we may do ſo no more.*

This more immediately concerns yourſelves; for 'tis not ſuppoſed to be intended, that God would ſhew us theſe things by inſpiration; but that ſuch who are called to it ſhould ſhew the mind of God in theſe things on both hands, i. e. whether there has been any error in exceſs or deficiency, or neither in the one nor the other. And if you do not thus far ſerve the publick, you need not complain of great ſufferings and unrighteous diſcouragements, if people do not applaud your conduct, as you might otherways have expected.† But if you altogether hold your peace at ſuch a time as this is, your ſilence, at leaſt ſeemingly, will ſpeak this language; that you are not concerned, though

* Vide the proclamation for a faſt, to be the 14th inſt. as ſet forth by authority.

† The declaration, as drawn by the Deputies with the aſſiſtance of the Miniſters; but received a nonconcurrence.

men aſcribe the power and providence of the Almighty to the worſt of his creatures — that if other ages or countries improve the doctrine and examples given them, either to the taking away of the life or reputations of innocents, you are well ſatisfied. Which, that there may be no ſhadow of a reaſon to believe but that your conduct herein may remove all ſuch jealouſies, and that God would be with you in declaring his whole mind to the people, is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, reverend ſirs, yours to my utmoſt, R. C.

MR. BENJAMIN WADSWORTH,

Reverend Sir,

After that dreadful and ſevere perſecution of ſuch a multitude of people, under the notion of witches, which, in the day thereof, was the ſoreſt trial and affliction that ever befel this country; and after many of the principal actors had declared their fears and jealouſies, that they had greatly erred in thoſe proſecutions; and after a ſolemn day of faſting had been kept, with prayers that God would ſhew us what we knew not, viz. what errors might therein have been fallen into, &c.; and after moſt people were convinced of the evil of ſome, if not of moſt, of thoſe actions; at ſuch a time as this, it might have been juſtly expected that the

miniſters would make it their work to explain the ſcriptures to the people; and from thence to have ſhown them the evil and danger of thoſe falſe notions, which not only gave ſome occaſion, but in a blind zeal hurried them into thoſe unwarrantable practices, ſo to prevent a falling into the like for the future.

But inſtead of this, for a miniſter of the goſpel (paſtor of the old meeting) to abet ſuch notions, and to ſtir up the magiſtrates to ſuch proſecutions, and this without any cautions given, is what is truly amazing, and of moſt dangerous conſequence.

It is a truth, witchcraft is, in the text then inſiſted on, reckoned up as a manifeſt work of the fleſh, viz. *Gal.* v. 19. But it is as true, that in recounting thoſe other works (which are indeed manifeſt fleſhly works) the magiſtrate was not ſtirred up againſt thoſe others; as if the reſt were either not to be taken notice of by him, or as if all zeal againſt murder, adulteries, &c. was ſwallowed up and overſhadowed by this againſt witchcraft.

The deſcription that was then given, was, that they were ſuch as made a covenant with the devil, and ſold themſelves to the evil angels. It ſeems faulty, when ſuch miniſter is inquired of, and requeſted to give the reaſons, or grounds in ſcripture, of ſuch deſcription, for ſuch miniſter

to aſſert that it is the inquirer's work to diſprove it. And his ſaying further, in anſwer, that there are many things true, that are not aſſerted in ſcripture, ſeems to ſpeak this language, viz. that the law of God is imperfect, in not deſcribing this crime of witchcraft, though it be therein made capital.

Theſe perfect oracles inform us, concerning Ahab, that he ſold himſelf to work wickedneſs; which may ſignify to us, that great height of wickedneſs he had arrived at; which yet might be, without his being properly, or juſtly, accounted a witch; any more than thoſe that are ſaid to have made a covenant with death, and with hell, &c. Can it be thought that all thoſe, or ſuch as are there ſpoken of, are witches, and ought to ſuffer as witches?

As the ſervants and people of God have made a ſolemn, explicit covenant with him, (*Joſh.* xxiv. 25. *Nehem.* ix. 38, &c.) ſo no doubt a covenant has been made by heathen indian nations, to ſerve and adore the devil; yet even for this, it were very hard to affix the character of a witch upon each of thoſe heathen that ſo do, and accordingly to execute them as ſuch. It is alſo poſſible, that ſome that have been called chriſtians have ſealed a writing, ſigned with their own blood, or otherways, thereby covenanting to be the devil's ſervants, &c.

but from far other grounds, or inducements, than what ſways with the indians; theſe heathen hoping to pleaſe him, that ſo he may not harm them. But theſe having been educated and confirmed in the belief, that by virtue of ſuch covenant they ſhall have a knowledge and power more than human aſſiſting them; this may have prevailed with ſome to ſo horrible a wickedneſs; for none can ſeek evil for evil's ſake; but as the ſerpent, in his firſt tempting man, made uſe of the knowledge of good and evil, ſo to teach men that ſuch effects do uſually follow ſuch covenant is properly the work of the ſerpent; for, without this, what inducement, or temptation, could they have to make ſuch a covenant?

Theſe, having thus choſen a falſe god, may well be accounted the worſt ſort of idolaters. Yet it does not hence follow, that, in a ſcripture ſenſe, they are thereby become witches, till they have, or rather till they pretend to have, aſſiſtances anſwerable: and do thereby endeavour to deceive others; which endeavours to deceive, by a ſign, may be without any previous covenant.

But ſuppoſing none of all thoſe ſeveral ſorts of covenants was intended, it remains that the covenant, that was underſtood to be intended, in that diſcourſe at the old meeting, is agreeable

to the late dangerous notion that has ſo much prevailed, viz. That the devil appears to the perſons; that they and the devil make mutual engagements each to other, confirmed by ſigning to the devil's book; and are from hence enabled, not only to know futurities, and things done at a diſtance, but are alſo thereby empowered to do harm to their neighbours, to raiſe ſtorms, and do things above and againſt the courſe of nature. This being the notion that has occaſioned the ſhedding ſo much blood in the world, it may be thought to need explaining.

For as reaſon knows nothing of an afflicting, covenanting witch, ſo it ſeems as foreign from ſcripture in general, as it is from the text then inſiſted on; which ſpeaks of ſuch wickedneſſes as are manifeſtly the works of the fleſh: but ſuch communication with ſpirits, the fleſh doth manifeſtly dread even as death itſelf. Therefore the uſual ſalutation of the holy angels to the beſt of men was, fear not; and experience ſhews, that the moſt wicked are moſt affrighted at the apprehenſions of the appearances of devils; therefore ſuch an explicit covenanting cannot be a manifeſt work of the fleſh.

Yet this is manifeſt, that the belief of the witches power to do the things above mentioned, is an ancient belief of the heathen; and that from them it was received by the papiſts, as a

part of their faith, who have ſince improved upon it and brought in the notion of a covenant. But it ſeems yet a further improvement, lately made by proteſtants, that ſuch witches can commiſſion devils to do thoſe miſchiefs, thereby ſetting the witch in the place of God; for though few of the papiſts are known to be thus abſurd, yet when ſuch doctrines have been preached and printed in New-England, they have met with none to oppoſe, but many to encourage them. Other conſiderable additions, or new improvements, have been made here; as the art to knock off inviſible chains with the hand, to drive away ſpectres (i. e. devils) by bruſhing, and ſpelling words to the afflicted, &c. What has followed upon theſe notions, and upon such improvements, is needleſs here to repeat; it were unaccountable to recount that effuſion of blood that has been hereby occaſioned; ſuch remaining ſcars, and ſuch yet bleeding wounds, as are to be found; which none can wholly pretend ignorance of.

And if blood ſhall be required of that watchman that ſeeth the ſword coming, and gives not the needful warning, how much more of ſuch as join with the enemy, to bring in the ſword to deſtroy them, over whom he was placed a watchman!

And if the law of God be perfect, and exceed-

ing broad, as being given forth by the Omniſcient Lawgiver, it is exceeding high preſumption and arrogance, and highly deſtructive to the lives of innocents, for any to pretend to give another, and a pretended better, deſcription of a crime made thereby capital, with new rules to try ſuch offenders by.

Reverend ſir, the matter, being of ſuch high concern, requires (and it is again prayed) that you would be pleaſed to conſider, and give the grounds from ſcripture, or reaſon, of ſuch definition; or elſe that you would explode it, as inconſiſtent with both. From, reverend ſir, yours to my utmoſt, R. C.

PART III.

ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENCES IN SALEM VILLAGE.

*Grounds of Complaint againſt Mr. Parris, &c.**

THE reaſons why we withdraw from communion with the church of Salem Village, both as to hearing the word preached, and from partaking with them at the Lord's table, are as follows:

Why we attend not on publick prayer, and preaching the word, theſe are,

1. The diſtracting and diſturbing tumults, and noiſes, made by the perſons under diabolical power and deluſions; preventing ſometimes our

* Some alterations have been made in the reading of the "Grounds of Complaint," in order that it may conform to the original court documents.

hearing, underſtanding, and profiting by, the word preached. We, having after many trials and experiences found no redreſs in this caſe, accounted ourſelves under a neceſſity to go where we might hear the word in quiet.

2. The apprehenſion of danger of ourſelves being accuſed as the devil's inſtruments to afflict the perſons complaining, we ſeeing thoſe, whom we have reaſon to eſteem better than ourſelves, thus accuſed, blemiſhed, and of their lives bereaved: for we ſeeing this evil, thought it our prudence to withdraw.

3. We found ſo frequent and poſitive preaching up ſome principles and practices by mr. Parris, referring to the dark and diſmal miſeries of iniquity working amongſt us, was not profitable, but offenſive.

4. Neither could we in conſcience join with mr. Parris, in the requeſts which he made in prayer, referring to the trouble then among us and upon us: therefore thought it our moſt ſafe and peaceable way to withdraw.

The reaſons why we hold not communion with them at the Lord's table, are, becauſe we eſteem ourſelves juſtly aggrieved and offended with the officer who does adminiſter, for the reaſons following:

1. From his declared and publiſhed principles, referring to our moleſtations from the in-

viſible world: differing from the opinion of the generality of the orthodox miniſters of this whole country.

2. His eaſy and ſtrong faith and belief of the affirmations and accuſations, made by thoſe they call the afflicted.

3. His laying aſide that grace (which above all we are required to put on) viz. charity towards his neighbours, and eſpecially towards thoſe of his church, when there is no apparent reaſon for the contrary.

4. His approving and practiſing unwarrantable and ungrounded methods, for diſcovering what he was deſirous to know referring to the bewitched or poſſeſſed perſons, as in bringing ſome to others, and by and from them pretending to inform himſelf and others, who were the devil's inſtruments to afflict the ſick and pained.

5. His unſafe and unaccountable oath, given by him againſt ſundry of the accuſed.

6. His not ſending to the world ſo fair (if ſo true) account of what he wrote on examination of the afflicted.

7. Sundry unſafe, if found, points of doctrine, delivered in his preaching, which we eſteem not warrantable (if chriſtian.)

8. His perſiſting in theſe principles, and juſtifying his practices; not rendering any ſatisfaction

to us, when regularly deſired, but rather for the offending and diſſatisfying ourſelves.

We, whoſe names are under written, heard this paper read to our paſtor, Mr. Samuel Parris, the 21ſt of April, 1693.

Nathaniel Figarſon,	*Peter Cloyce,* ſenior,
Edward Putman,	*Samuel Nurſe,*
Aaron Way,	*John Tarboll,*
William Way,	*Thomas Wilkins.*

Mr. Parris's Acknowledgment.

For as much as it is the undoubted duty of all chriſtians to purſue peace, *Pſal.* xxxiv. 14, even to a reaching of it, if it be poſſible; (*Amos* xii. 18, 19) and whereas, through the righteous, ſovereign and awful providence of God, the grand enemy to all chriſtian peace has been of late tremendouſly let looſe in divers places hereabout, and more eſpecially among our ſinful ſelves, not only to interrupt that partial peace which we ſometimes enjoyed, but alſo, through his wiles and temptations, and our weakneſs and corruptions, to make wider breaches, and raiſe more bitter animoſities between too many of us; in which dark and difficult diſpenſations, we have been all or moſt of us of one mind for a time, and afterwards of differing apprehenſions; and at laſt we are but in the dark, upon ſerious thoughts of all; and after many prayers, I have been moved to pre-

ſent to you (my beloved flock) the following particulars, in way of contribution towards a regaining of chriſtian concord, if ſo be we be not altogether unappeaſeable, irreconcileable, and ſo deſtitute of that good ſpirit, which is firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſy to be entreated, *James* iii. 17. viz.

1. In that the Lord ordered the late horrid calamity (which afterward plague-like ſpread in many other places) to break out firſt in my family, I cannot but look upon as a very ſore rebuke, and humbling providence, both to myſelf and mine, and deſire ſo we may improve it.

2. In that alſo in my family were ſome of both parties, viz. accuſers and accuſed, I look alſo upon as an aggravation of that rebuke, as an addition of wormwood to the gall.

3. In the means which were uſed in my family, though totally unknown to me or mine (except ſervants) till afterwards, to raiſe ſpirits and apparitions in no better than a diabolical way, I do alſo look upon as a further rebuke of Divine Providence. And by all, I do humbly own this day, before the Lord and his people that God has been righteouſly ſpitting in my face, *Numb.* xii. 14. And I deſire to lie low under all this reproach, and to lay my hand on my mouth.

4. As to the management of theſe myſteries,

as far as concerns myſelf, I am very deſirous upon further light to own any errors I have therein fallen into, and can come to a diſcerning of; in the mean while I do acknowledge, upon after-conſiderations, that were the ſame troubles again, (which the Lord of his rich mercy forever prevent) I ſhould not agree with my former apprehenſions in all points. As for inſtance,

1. I queſtion not but God ſometimes ſuffers the devil, as of late, to afflict in ſhape of not only innocent, but pious perſons; or ſo to delude the ſenſes of the afflicted, that they ſtrongly conceit their hurt is from ſuch perſons, when indeed it is not.

2. The improving of one afflicted, to inquire by who afflicts the other, I fear may be, and has been, unlawfully uſed to ſatan's great advantage.

3. As to my writing, it was put upon me by authority, and therein I have been very careful to avoid the wronging of any.

4. As to my oath, I never meant it, nor do I know how it can be otherwiſe conſtrued, than as vulgarly, and every one underſtood, yea, and upon inquiry it may be found ſo worded alſo.

5. As to any paſſage in preaching, or praying, in the ſore hour of diſtreſs and darkneſs, I always intended but due juſtice on each hand, and that not according to men, but God, who

knows all things moſt perfectly; however, through weakneſs or ſore exerciſe, I might ſometimes, yea, and poſſibly ſundry times, unadviſedly expreſs myſelf.

6. As to ſeveral that have confeſſed againſt themſelves, they being wholly ſtrangers to me, but yet of good account with better men than myſelf, to whom alſo they are well known, I do not paſs ſo much as a ſecret condemnation upon them; but rather, ſeeing God hath ſo amazingly lengthened out ſatan's chain, in this moſt formidable outrage, I much more incline to ſide with the opinion of thoſe that have grounds to hope better of them.

7. As to all that have unduly ſuffered in theſe matters, either in their perſons or relations, through the clouds of human weakneſs, and ſatan's wiles and ſophiſtry, I do truly ſympathize with them; taking it for granted, that ſuch as know themſelves clear of this great tranſgreſſion, or that have ſufficient grounds ſo to look upon their dear friends, have hereby been under thoſe ſore trials and temptations, that not an ordinary meaſure of true grace would be ſufficient to prevent a bewraying of remaining corruption.

8. I am very much in the mind, and abundantly perſuaded, that God, for holy ends, though for what in particular is beſt known to himſelf,

has ſuffered the evil angels to delude us on both hands; but how far on the one ſide, or the other, is much above me to ſay; and if we cannot reconcile till we come to a full diſcerning of theſe things, I fear we ſhall never come to an agreement, or at ſooneſt not in this world.

9. Therefore, in fine, the matter being ſo dark and perplexed, as that there is no preſent appearance that all God's ſervants ſhould be altogether of one mind in all circumſtances, touching the ſame, I do moſt heartily, fervently and humbly beſeech pardon of the merciful God, through the blood of Chriſt, for all my miſtakes and treſpaſſes in ſo weighty a matter; and alſo all your forgiveneſs of every offence, in this or other affairs, wherein you ſee or conceive that I have erred and offended; profeſſing, in the preſence of the Almighty God, that what I have done has been, as for ſubſtance, as I apprehended was duty, however through weakneſs, ignorance, &c. I may have been miſtaken. I alſo through grace promiſing each of you the like of me, ſo again I beg, entreat and beſeech you, that ſatan, the devil, the roaring lion, the old dragon, the enemy of all righteouſneſs, may no longer be ſerved by us, by our envy and ſtrifes, where every evil work prevails whilſt theſe bear ſway, (*James* iii. 14, 15, 16) but that all from this day forward may be covered with the mantle of love, and we may on

all hands forgive each other heartily, ſincerely and thoroughly, as we do hope and pray that God for Chriſt's ſake would forgive each of ourſelves, (*Matt.* xviii. 21, to the end.) *Coloſs.* iii. 12, 13, *Put on therefore (as the elect of God, holy and beloved) bowels of mercies, kindneſs, humbleneſs of mind, meekneſs, long-ſuffering: forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrel againſt any; even as Chriſt forgave you, ſo alſo do ye. Eph.* iv. 31, 32, *Let all bitterneſs, and anger, and clamour, and evil-ſpeaking, be put away from you, with all malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another even as God for Chriſt's ſake hath forgiven you.* Amen. Amen.

SAMUEL PARRIS.

Given to the diſſenting brethren, for their conſideration, at their requeſt. *November* 26, 1694.

The Elders and Meſſengers of the churches met at Salem Village, April 3, 1695, *to conſider and determine what is to be done, for the compoſure of the preſent unhappy differences in that place; after ſolemn invocation of God in Chriſt for his direction, do unanimouſly declare, as followeth, viz.*

1. We judge that although in the late and dark time of the confuſions, wherein ſatan had obtained a more than ordinary liberty, to ſift this

plantation, there were ſundry unwarrantable and uncomfortable ſteps taken by mr. Samuel Parris, the paſtor of the church in Salem Village, then under the hurrying diſtractions of amazing afflictions: yet the ſaid mr. Parris, by the good hand of God brought unto a better ſenſe of things, hath ſo fully expreſt it, that a chriſtian charity may and ſhould receive ſatisfaction therewith.

2. Inaſmuch as divers chriſtian brethren, in the church of Salem Village, have been offended at mr. Parris, for his conduct in the time of their difficulties, which have diſtreſſed them; we now adviſe them charitably to accept the ſatisfaction which he hath tendered in his chriſtian acknowledgment of the errors therein committed; yea, to endeavour, as far as it is poſſible, the fulleſt reconciliation of their minds unto communion with him, in the whole exerciſe of his miniſtry, and with the reſt of the church. *Matt.* vi. 12, 14. *Luke* xviii. 3. *James* v. 16.

3. Conſidering the extreme trials and troubles, which the diſaffected brethren in the church of Salem Village have undergone, in the day of ſore temptation which hath been upon them; we cannot but adviſe the church to treat them with bowels of much compaſſion, inſtead of more critical or rigorous proceedings againſt them for the infirmities diſcovered by them, in ſuch an heart-breaking day; and if, after a patient wait-

ing for it, the ſaid brethren cannot ſo far overcome the uneaſineſs of their ſpirits, in the remembrance of the diſaſters that have happened, as to ſit under his miniſtry, we adviſe the church with all tenderneſs to grant them admiſſion to any other ſociety of the faithful, whereunto they may be deſirous to be diſmiſſed. *Gal.* vi. 1, 2. *Pſal.* ciii. 13, 14. *Job* xix. 21.

4. Mr. Parris having, as we underſtand, with much fidelity and integrity acquitted himſelf, in the main courſe of his miniſtry, ſince he hath been paſtor of the church of Salem Village; about his firſt call whereunto, we look upon all conteſts now to be both unreaſonable and unſeaſonable; and our Lord having made him a bleſſing to the ſouls of not a few, both old and young, in this place, we adviſe that he be accordingly reſpected, honoured and ſupported, with all the regards that are due to a painful miniſter of the goſpel. 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* v. 17.

5. Having obſerved that there is in Salem Village a ſpirit full of contention and animoſity, too ſadly verifying the blemiſh which hath heretofore lain upon them; and that ſome complaints againſt mr. Parris have been either cauſeleſs or groundleſs, or unduly aggravated; we do, in the name and fear of the Lord, ſolemnly warn them to conſider whether, if they continue to devour one another, it will not be bitterneſs in the latter

end; and beware leſt the Lord be provoked thereby utterly to deprive them of thoſe which they ſhould count their precious and pleaſant things, and abandon them to all the deſolations of a people that ſin away the mercies of the goſpel. *James* iii. 16. *Gal.* v. 15. 2 *Sam.* ii. 26. *Iſa.* v. 45. *Matt.* xxi. 43.

6. If the diſtempers in Salem Village ſhould be (which God forbid) ſo incurable, that mr. Parris, after all, find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in his preſent ſtation, his removal from thence will not expoſe him to any hard character with us; nor, we hope, with the reſt of the people of God, among whom we live. *Matt.* x. 14. *Acts* xxii. 18. All which advice we follow with our prayers, that the God of peace would bruiſe Satan under our feet. Now the Lord of peace himſelf give you peace always by all means.

Jos. Bridgham,	*Jer. Dummer,*	*James Allen,*
Samuel Chickley,	*Neh. Jewitt,*	*Samuel Tory,*
William Tory,	*Ephr. Hunt,*	*S. Willard,*
Jos. Boynton,	*N. Williams,*	*E. Payſon,*
R. Middlecutt,	*Incr. Mather,*	*C. Mather.*
John Walley,	*S. Phillips,*	

To the Reverend Elders of the three churches of Chriſt at Boſton, with others the Elders and Brethren of other churches, late of a Council at Salem Village.

We whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, are

bold once more to trouble you with our humble propoſals: — That whereas there have been long and uncomfortable differences among us, chiefly relating to mr. Parris; and we having, as we apprehend, attended all probable means for a compoſure of our troubles: and whereas we had hopes of an happy iſſue, by your endeavours among us, but now are utterly fruſtrated in our expectations, and that inſtead of uniting, our rent is made worſe, and our breach made wider:

We humbly query, whether yourſelves, being ſtraightened of time, might not omit ſuch ſatisfactory liberty of debating the whole of our controverſy; whereby yourſelves had not ſo large an opportunity of underſtanding the caſe, nor the offended ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied in your advice: We therefore humbly propoſe, and give full liberty of proving and defending of what may be charged on either hand, leaving it to yourſelves to appoint both time and place,

1. That if yourſelves pleaſe to take the trouble, with patience once more to hear the whole caſe.

2. Or that you will more plainly adviſe mr. Parris (the caſe being ſo circumſtanced that he cannot, with comfort or profit to himſelf or others, abide in the work of the miniſtry among us) to ceaſe his labours, and ſeek to

diſpoſe himſelf elſewhere, as God in his providence may direct; and that yourſelves would pleaſe to help us in adviſing to ſuch a choice, wherein we may be more unanimous; which we hope would tend much to a compoſure of our differences.

3. Or that we may without any offence take the liberty of calling ſome other proved miniſter of the goſpel, to preach the word of God to us and ours; and that we may not be denied our proportionable privilege, in our public diſburſements in the place.

So leaving the whole caſe with the Lord and yourſelves, we ſubſcribe our names.

Signed by 16 young men, from 16 upwards; and 52 houſeholders, and 18 church members. This was delivered to the miniſters, May 3, 1695.

The copy of a paper that was handed about, touching thoſe differences.

As to the conteſt between mr. Parris and his hearers, &c. it may be compoſed by a ſatisfactory anſwer to *Levit.* xx. 6, "And the ſoul that turneth after ſuch as have familiar ſpirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will ſet my face againſt that ſoul, and will cut him off from among his people." 1 *Chron.* x. 13, 14, "So Saul died for his tranſgreſſion, which he committed againſt the Lord, even againſt the

word of the Lord, which he kept not: and alſo for aſking counsel of one that had a familiar ſpirit, to inquire of it; and inquired not of the Lord; therefore he ſlew him," &c.

Some part of the determination of the Elders and Meſſengers of the churches, met at Salem Village, April 3, 1695, *relating to the differences there.*

If the diſtemper in Salem Village ſhould be (which God forbid) ſo incurable that mr. Parris, after all, find that he cannot with any comfort and ſervice continue in his preſent ſtation, his removal from thence will not expoſe him to any hard character with us, nor, we hope, with the reſt of the people of God, among whom we live. Matt. x. 14, *And whoſoever ſhall not receive you, nor hear your words; when you depart out of that houſe, or city, ſhake off the duſt of your feet, &c.* Acts xxii. 18. All which advice we follow with our prayers, that the God of peace would bruiſe ſatan under our feet. Now the Lord of peace give you peace always, by all means, &c.

Queſt. Whether Mr. Parris's going to Abigail Williams and others, whom he ſuppoſed to have a ſpectral ſight, to be informed who were witches and who afflicted thoſe pretended ſufferers by witchcraft, in order to their being

queſtioned upon their lives upon it, were not a turning after ſuch as had familiar ſpirits; and a greater wickedneſs than Saul was guilty of, in that he did not intend thereby bodily hurt to any others?

And whether, in a crime of ſuch a high nature, the making a ſlender and general confeſſion, without any propoſals of reparations, or due time for probation, ought ſo far to be accounted ſufficient, from ſuch a paſtor to his people?

And whether ſuch as were accuſed, or the ſurviving friends and relations of thoſe that were any ways ſufferers by accuſations ſo by him proved, are in duty and conſcience bound to continue their reſpect, honour and ſupport to him, in the miniſtry, after ſuch known departures from the rule of God's word, and after ſuch dire effects as followed thereupon, under the penalty *of the duſt ſhaken from his feet*, teſtifying againſt them, even ſo as to render them in a worſe caſe than thoſe of Sodom and Gomorrah?

To the Honourable Wait Winthrop, Eliſha Cook and Samuel Sewall, Eſquires, arbitrators, indifferently choſen, between Mr. Samuel Parris and the inhabitants of Salem Village.

The remonſtrances of ſeveral aggrieved perſons in the ſaid village, with further reaſons why

they conceive they ought not to hear mr. Parris, nor to own him as a miniſter of the goſpel, nor to contribute any ſupport to him as ſuch, for ſeveral years paſt; humbly offered as fit for conſideration.

We humbly conceive that having, in April, 1693, given our reaſons why we could not join with mr. Parris in prayer, preaching, or ſacraments; if theſe reaſons are found ſufficient for our withdrawing, (and we cannot yet find but they are) then we conceive ourſelves virtually diſcharged, not only in conſcience, but alſo in law; which requires maintenance to be given to ſuch as are orthodox, and blameleſs; the ſaid mr. Parris having been teaching ſuch dangerous errors, and preached ſuch ſcandalous immoralities, as ought to diſcharge any (though ever ſo gifted otherways) from the work of the miniſtry.

Particularly in his oath againſt the lives of ſeveral, wherein he ſwears that the priſoners with their looks knock down thoſe pretended ſufferers. We humbly conceive, that he that ſwears to more than he is certain of, is equally guilty of perjury with him that ſwears to what is falſe. And though they did fall at ſuch a time, yet it could not be known that they did it, much leſs could they be certain of it; yet did ſwear poſitively againſt the lives of ſuch, as he could not have any knowledge but they might be innocent.

His believing the devil's accuſations, and readily departing from all charity to perſons, though of blameleſs and godly lives, upon ſuch ſuggeſtions; his promoting ſuch accuſations; as alſo his partiality therein, in ſtifling the accuſations of ſome, and at the ſame time vigilantly promoting others, as we conceive, are juſt cauſes for our refuſal, &c.

That mr. Parris's going to Mary Walcut, or Abigail Williams, and directing others to them, to know who afflicted the people in their illneſſes — we underſtand this to be a dealing with them that have a familiar ſpirit, and an implicit denying the providence of God, who alone, as we believe, can ſend afflictions, or cauſe devils to afflict any; this we alſo conceive ſufficient to juſtify ſuch refuſal.

That mr. Parris, by theſe practices and principles, has been the beginner and procurer of the ſoreſt afflictions, not to this Village only, but to this whole country, that did ever befal them.

We, the ſubſcribers, in behalf of ourſelves, and of ſeveral others of the ſame mind with us, (touching theſe things) having ſome of us had our relations by theſe practices taken off by an untimely death; others have been impriſoned, and ſuffered in our perſons, reputations and eſtates; ſubmit the whole to your honours deciſion, to determine whether we are or ought to

be any ways obliged to honour, reſpect and ſupport ſuch an inſtrument of our miſeries; praying God to guide your honours to act herein as may be for his glory, and the future ſettlement of our village in amity and unity.

John Tarboll,
Samuel Nurſe,
Joſ. Putman,
Dan. Andrew,
} Attorneys for the people of the village.

Boſton, July 21, 1697.

According to the order of the aforeſaid arbitrators, the ſaid mr. Parris had ſome of his arrears paid him, as alſo a ſum of money for his repairs of the miniſterial houſe of the ſaid village, and is diſmiſſed therefrom.

NOTE. — Writers have generally ſuppoſed that Mr. Parris, after his diſmiſſion from Salem Village, removed to Concord, Maſſachuſetts. But it is now certain that he received a call to preach in Stowe, by the inhabitants of that town, Nov. 29, 1697, and on the 4th of January, 1698, the Selectmen were ordered "to make a rate of ten pounds for Mr. Parris, our preſent miniſter." He is ſaid to have preached in Concord, Maſs., in 1705. It is certain that he commenced preaching in Dunſtable in October, 1708, and continued to preach in that town three years. He died in Sudbury, Feb. 27, 1720, aged 67 years.

PART IV.

LETTERS
OF A GENTLEMAN UNINTERESTED,

ENDEAVOURING TO PROVE THE RECEIVED OPINIONS ABOUT WITCHCRAFT TO BE ORTHODOX.

Sir,

I TOLD you I had ſome thoughts concerning witchcraft, and an intention of conferring with the gentleman who has publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes about witchcraft, and perſons afflicted by them, lately here in New-England; but ſince you have put thoſe three books into my hands, I find myſelf engaged in a very hard province, to give you my opinion of them. I plainly foreſee, that ſhould this ſcribbling of mine come to public view, it would diſplease all parties, but that is the leaſt. Moreover it is ſo far out of my road to ſet my thoughts to conſider a matter on every ſide, which in itſelf is ſo abſtruſe, and every ſtep I advance therein, if I miſs truth

(which is a narrow and undivided line) I muſt tumble down headlong into the gulph of dangerous error. Yet, notwithſtanding, I have forced myſelf to ſend theſe few lines, if ſo be I may clear to you a truth you now ſeem to be offended at, becauſe of the ill conſequences which (you think) lately have and again may be drawn from it, by the ill conduct of ſome men. I am not ignorant that the pious frauds of the ancient, and the inbred fire (I do not call it pride) of many of our modern, divines, have precipitated them to propagate and maintain truth as well as falſehoods, in ſuch an unfair manner, as has given advantage to the enemy to ſuſpect the whole doctrine, theſe men have profeſt, to be nothing but a mere trick. But it is certain, that as no lover of truth will juſtify an illegitimate corollary, though drawn from a true propoſition; ſo neither will he reject a truth, becauſe ſome or many men take unfair means to prove it, or draw falſe conſequences from it. The many hereſies among chriſtians muſt not give a mortal wound to the eſſence of the chriſtian religion; neither muſt any one chriſtian doctrine be exterminated, becauſe evil men make uſe of it as a cloak to cover their own ſelf-ends; particularly, becauſe ſome men, perhaps among all ſorts of chriſtians, have, under pretence of witchcraft, coloured their own malice, pride and popularity, we muſt

not therefore conclude (1.) that there are no witches; (2.) or that witches cannot be convicted by ſuch clear and undeniable proof, as the law of God requires in the caſe of death; (3.) or that a witch ſo convicted ought not to be put to death.

1. That there are witches, is manifeſt from the precept of Moſes, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a witch to live*. Exod. xxii. 18. For it is certain God would not have given a vain and unintelligible law, as this muſt be, of putting witches to death, if there are no witches. But you object, that this doth not anſwer our caſe, for we have formed another idea of witches than what can be gathered from the ſcriptures; you quote four places, viz. *Deut.* xiii. *Matt.* xxiv. *Acts* xiii. 2 *Tim.* iii. from all which you infer, that witchcraft is a maligning and oppugning the word, works and worſhip of God, and by an extraordinary ſign ſeeking to ſeduce any from it; and this you readily grant. But then you ſay, What is this to witches now a days, who are ſaid to have made an explicit covenant with the devil, and to be empowered by him to the doing of things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſides their natural courſe? This you ſay does not follow; and herein indeed conſiſts the whole controverſy; therefore it is neceſſary, that firſt of all we clear this point, laying aſide thoſe prejudices we may

have from the fatal application of this doctrine to ſome who were (in your judgment) really, at leaſt in law, and before men, innocent. In a word, we are ſeeking after truth, and truth ſhall and will be truth, in ſpite of men and devils. I do not repeat this caution to foreſtall you to believe the doctrine of witchcraft, as it is above defined, without inquiring into the reaſon and truth of it; only I deſire you to inquire into it, as a thing doubtful. For no man can be certain of a negative, unleſs either the affirmative imply a contradiction, or he can prove it by certain teſtimony; to neither of which you pretend; only you alledge it cannot be proved by ſcripture, i. e. you cannot prove it, nor have ſeen it proved by any other you have read on that ſubject. I am not ſo vain as to think I can do better than the learned authors you have conſulted with (though I know not what they have done, for I had no other book but the bible, to make uſe of on this occaſion;) but becauſe I am ſatisfied myſelf, and am willing to communicate my reaſons, which I divide into three heads. 1. The appearance of angels. 2. The nature of poſſeſſion; and, 3d, The ſcripture notion of witchcraft.

1. Good angels did appear to Abraham, and did eat, *Gen.* xv. It ſeems he waſhed their feet; it is certain he ſaw and heard them; therefore there is no impoſſibility in angels being conver-

ſant with men. God is true, and whatever is contained in ſacred writ is true; if we poor ſhallow mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakneſs and ignorance in this dark priſon of fleſh, wherein we are encloſed during our abode in this vale of miſery, but doth not in the leaſt infringe the verity of ſcripture; it is ſufficient that we undoubtedly know they have appeared unto men in bodily ſhape, and done their errand they were ſent on from God. Now if good angels have appeared, why may not bad? Surely the devils, becauſe fallen and evil, have not therefore loſt the nature of angels; neither is there any contradiction in their appearing in a bodily ſhape, now after, any more than before, their fall. But you will ſay you muſt allow of the appearances of good angels, becauſe of the ſcripture teſtimony; but not of bad, ſeeing there is no place of ſcripture that clearly proves it. *Matt.* iv, The words in the goſpel do as plainly ſignify the devil's outward appearance to our Saviour, when he was tempted, as can be expreſſ'd; *And when the tempter came to him he ſaid — but he anſwered.* The ſame form St. Luke uſeth to ſignify the appearance of Moſes and Elias, in the transfiguration: *And behold there talked with him two men;* for what follows, ver. 31, *who appeared*, is uſed to ſignify (not their appearance, but) the manner

of their appearance *in great glory*. But you will urge, that it is very eaſy to be underſtood, that Moſes and Elias did appear, becauſe they had human bodies; but that it is unintelligible to you, how the devil, being a ſpirit, can appear, a ſpirit being a ſubſtance void of all dimenſions; therefore the words in the hiſtory muſt not be taken in a literal ſenſe. Do not miſtake: though ſome philoſophers are of opinion (which whether true or falſe is all one to our preſent argument) that a ſpirit's ſubſtance is extended, and hath, beſides length, breadth and depth, a fourth dimenſion, viz. eſſential ſpiſſitude; yet the ſame do not ſay, that pure ſubſtance is perceptible by our bodily ſenſes; on the contrary, they tell us, that ſpirits are clothed with vehicles, *i. e.* they are united to certain portions of matter, which they inform, move and actuate. Now this we muſt not reject as impoſſible, becauſe we cannot comprehend the formal reaſon, how a ſpirit acts upon matter: for who can give the reaſon, that, upon the volition of the human ſoul, the hand ſhould be lifted up, or any ways moved? for to ſay the contraction of the muſcles is the mechanic cauſe of voluntary motion, is not to ſolve the queſtion, which recurs, Why, upon volition, ſhould that contraction enſue which cauſes that motion? All that I know the wiſeſt man ever ſaid upon this head is, that it is the will of the

Creator, who has ordered ſuch a ſpecies of thinking creatures, by a catholic law, to be united to ſuch portions of matter, ſo and ſo diſpoſed; or, if you will, in the vulgar phraſe, to organized bodies; and that there ſhould be between them and the ſeveral bodies they are united to a mutual reaction and paſſion. Now you ſee how little we know of the reaſon of that which is moſt near to us, and moſt certain, viz. the ſoul's informing the body; yet you would think it a bad argument, if one ſhould, as ſome have done, conclude, from this our ignorance, that there was nothing in us but matter; it is no otherways than to deny a ſpirit's acting a vehicle. The plaineſt and moſt certain things when denied are hardeſt to be proved; therefore the axiom ſaith well, *contra principia*, &c. There are ſome certain truths, which are rather to be explained to young beginners than proved, upon which all ſcience is built; as every whole is more than its part; and of this ſort I take theſe two following: 1. That there are two ſubſtances, *corpus* and *mens*, body and ſpirit, altogether different, for the ideas we have of them are quite diſtinct. 2. That a ſpirit can actuate, animate or inform a certain portion of matter, and be united to it; from whence it is very evident, that the devil, united to a portion of matter (which hereafter I'll call a vehicle) may fall

under the cognizance of our ſenſes, and be converſant with us in a bodily ſhape. Where then is the reason or need to run to a metaphorical and forced interpretation, when the words are ſo plain, and the literal ſenſe implieth no contradiction, nor any greater difficulty than (as has been ſaid) what ariſeth from the union of the ſoul and body, which is moſt certain? Now after all to ſay, God *will not* permit the devil ſo to appear, is to beg the queſtion, without ſaying any thing to the preceding argument; and it is againſt the ſenſe of almoſt all mankind; for in all ages, and all places, there have been many witneſſes of the appearances of dæmons, all of whom, that taught any thing contrary to the right worſhip of the true God, were certainly evil ones: and it were moſt preſumptuous, barely to aſſert that all theſe witneſſes were always deceived, and it is impoſſible they could all agree to deceive.

2. We come to conſider the nature of poſſeſſion. The man poſſeſt (*Luke* viii. 27) had a power more than natural, for he brake the bands, which he could not have done with his own ſtrength. Now from whom had he this power? The ſcripture ſaith, he had devils a long time, and oftentimes it had caught him, &c. he was kept bound with chains and in fetters, and he brake the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderneſs. This power then was im-

mediately from the devil, and whatſoever a poſſeſſed perſon does, or ſuffers, beyond his natural power, he is enabled by the dæmon ſo to do; or, to ſpeak more properly, it is the dæmon who acteth the ſame, as is plain from St. Mark's relation of this paſſage, v. 2 *v.* *A man with an unclean ſpirit.* 3 *v.* *And no man could bind him, no, not with chains.* 6 *v.* *But when he ſaw Jeſus afar off, he came and worſhiped him;* and the same *he*, 7 *v.* ſaid *I adjure thee by God that thou torment me not;* and 9 *v.* *My name is Legion, for we are many.* 10 *v.* *And he beſought him much, that he would not ſend them away out of the country.* It is manifeſt from hence, that it was not the poor man who was poſſeſt, but the devils who poſſeſſed him, by whom the chains had been plucked aſunder, and the fetters broken in pieces. Now here is divine teſtimony, that the devils have actuated a human body to the doing of things beyond the natural ſtrength of that body, as it was ſimply united to its human ſoul: how much more then can the devil actuate any other portion of ſimple matter, earth, air, fire or water, and make it a fit organ for himſelf to act in!

But enough of this already: let us rather inquire how the devil enters into the body of the poſſeſt, to move it at his pleaſure. This I think he cannot do as a mere ſpirit, or by any

never ſo ſtrict union with the human ſoul; for in that caſe he is only a tempter or ſeducer, and nothing above human ſtrength can be done: but here there being ſomething performed (the bonds broken) by a force which could not proceed from human ſtrength, it neceſſarily follows that the devils entered into the poſſeſt, otherways qualified them as a mere ſpirit; he did not enter without ſome portion of matter, to which he was united, by the intermedium whereof he acted upon and actuated the human body. Again, if it is ſaid that the devil entered as a mere ſpirit, and immediately acted upon and moved that body, it follows, the devil hath a vehicle, a certain portion of matter (that body) to actuate and diſpoſe of at will; which is abſurd: 1, Becauſe it aſſerts what it ſeems to deny, viz. the devil's having a vehicle to act immediately upon; and to be united to a portion of matter (as has been ſaid before) is the ſame thing. 2, It fights againſt the catholic law of the union of ſoul and body, by which the Omnipotent hath ordained the voluntary motion of a human body to depend upon the will of its human ſoul, and thoſe that are not voluntary to proceed either from its own mechaniſm or material force; hence we may certainly conclude, that it is by the intervening of the devil's vehicle, that he enters into the body of the poſſeſt. But

what if you and I cannot agree about this notion of poſſeſſion, muſt we therefore reject the truth itſelf, and run to a far-fetched and intolerable ſenſe of the words? No, our opinions do not alter the nature of things; it is certain there were perſons poſſeſt, and it is as certain that the devil entered into them, either with or without a vehicle; it is all one which part of the contradiction you take, the conſequence is the ſame, viz. That the devil doth act immediately upon matter.

There is another acceptation of the word poſſeſſion in ſcripture, (*Acts* xvi. 17) where one is ſaid to be poſſeſt with a ſpirit of divination, the word commonly uſed to the prieſteſs of Apollo, who gave reſponſes; and it ſeems this damſel was ſuch an one, for ſhe brought her maſters much money, or gain, by ſoothſaying, till they were full of the god. Now if the hiſtory of them be true, that they were demented, and knew not themſelves what they uttered, (as they word it,) their caſe is not different, but the ſame with the foregoing; but if they underſtood what they ſpoke, then had they familiar ſpirits, whereof there is frequent mention made in the old teſtament, and one good king is commended for having cut off them that had ſuch; therefore I think the meaning of the word was very obvious in his time; neither was it ever controverted

being joined with any other name than ſpirit, familiar, one of our own family: that is, oft, every day converſant with us, and almoſt ever ready upon call to attend us. But the conſideration of them, who have familiar ſpirits, falleth under the head of witchcraft, which we are to conſider in the third place.

3. Witchcraft, to inquire into the ſcripture notion of it, and compare whether it be the ſame with that above defined. The cabaliſtick learning would be of great uſe in this ſearch, and afford us much light; there is little doubt but that there are many great truths not commonly known. And our Saviour expreſſly cautions his diſciples that they do not throw their pearls before ſwine; therefore it is no wonder that ſome doctrines, though unqueſtionably true, are not ſo fully deſcribed, becauſe the authors who treat of them are afraid, leſt evil men ſhould be the more depraved by being informed: but I am in no ſuch fear; nor can I give you any other thoughts but what are obvious to any man, from the plain ſenſe of the ſcripture. Our definition we'll divide into two propoſitions, and handle them ſeverally. 1 Propoſition. The witch is empowered by the devil to do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſide their natural courſe. 2 Prop. The manner how the witch is empowered to do thoſe ſtrange things, is by

explicit compact, or covenant, with the devil. For clearing of the firſt, we will conſider the four places above cited, wherein a witch is called a falſe prophet, a falſe Chriſt, a ſorcerer, a reſiſter of the truth, and is ſaid to ſhew ſigns to ſeduce the people to ſeek after other gods: whence let us note three things. 1. That thoſe terms, witch, falſe Chriſt, falſe prophet and ſorcerer, are all ſynonimous, i. e. ſignify the ſame thing. 2. That a witch doth do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beyond their natural courſe: for it were moſt ridiculous to alledge that our bleſſed Saviour, when he ſaid, *there ſhall ariſe falſe Chriſts, and ſhall ſhew great ſigns and wonders, in ſo much that (if it were poſſible) they ſhould deceive the very elect*, meant that cunning cheats ſhould ariſe, and ſhew legerdemain tricks; the words will in no wiſe bear it, and I believe you are far from thus interpreting them; ſo it is manifeſt they ſignify not a feigned, but a real, doing of things beyond their natural courſe; therefore the ſorceries of Elymas and Simon were not ſimple deluſions, but real effects, that could not have been produced by phyſical cauſes in the ordinary courſe of nature. 3. That the end of the witches' ſhewing theſe ſigns, is to ſeduce the people to ſeek after other gods; from which premiſes I infer, that the witches have the power of doing thoſe wonders, or ſtrange things, im-

mediately from the devil: they are without the reach of nature, and therefore above human power, and no mere man can effect them; the witch then who does them muſt have the power of doing them from another; but who is the other? God will not give his teſtimony to a lie; and to ſay God did at any time empower a witch to work wonders, to gain belief to the doctrine of devils, were with one breath to deſtroy root and branch of all revealed religion; no, it cannot be, it is only God's permiſſion, who proveth his people, whether they love him with all their heart and with all their ſoul. Therefore the witch has a power of doing wonders, or ſtrange things, immediately from the devil. 2 Propoſition, we will ſubdivide into theſe two. 1. That there is an expreſs covenant between the witch and the devil. 2. That it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe this covenant to be tranſacted mentally. 1. The devil cannot communicate this power, by never ſo ſtrict a union with the ſoul of the witch; for in that caſe he is only a tempter, and nothing above human power can be done, as has been already proved; therefore the devil, who improves the witch to do things above human power, muſt either appear in an external ſhape, and inſtruct him how, and upon what terms, he will enable him to do thoſe wonders; or elſe he muſt enter into the body of the

witch, and poſſeſs it. The demoniacs in the goſpel are ſuch whom the devils invade by main force, their ſoul having no further command of their bodies, which are ſubjected to the will of the devils; whoſe end is to wound and torment thoſe miſerable creatures, to throw them into the fire, and into the water: but the witch, who likewiſe is poſſeſſed, is not treated in ſuch an outrageous manner; his dæmon is tame and familiar unto him, and ſuffers him for a time to live quietly, without any further moleſtation, than prompting him to do his utmoſt endeavour to withdraw men from God; he is not bereaved of his ſenſes as the poor lunatic, but is conſcious of all he does, and willeth all his crimes: he receiveth power from the devil to do wonders, and doth them to ſerve the devil's turn. Therefore there muſt be a covenant, an expreſs covenant, between the devil and him, viz. that he ſhall obey the devil and ſerve him, and that the devil ſhall both enable him ſo to do, and alſo reward him for ſo doing; for if there is no contract between them, how comes the witch to know he has a ſupernatural power? or how can he ſo peremptorily pretend to do that which is ſo much above his natural power, not knowing he has a ſupernatural one enabling him to do the ſame? There can be no doubt but there was a very intimate commerce between ſatan and him

who is called by St. Paul thou child of the devil, not as other unholy men, but in an eſpecial manner, as being the enemy of all righteouſneſs, who would not ceaſe to pervert the right ways of the Lord. It is not to be ſuppoſed that he entered into this ſo near a relation with ſatan, with which he is ſtigmatized, that others may beware of him, without his own knowledge and conſent. And is not this a covenant, an expreſs covenant, on his part, to ſerve the devil inceſſantly; and on the devil's, to empower him to act his ſorceries wherewith he bewitched the people? Now I think I have from ſcripture fully ſatiſfied you of the truth of what I offered in a diſcourſe at ——. But, ſince, you have told me an explicit covenant with the devil ſignifies the devil's appearing in a bodily ſhape to the witch, and their ſignifying an expreſs covenant, which you ſay cannot be proved from ſcripture. It were moſt unreaſonable to imagine that the ceremonies of this helliſh myſtery are particularly ſet down in the word of God; therefore we muſt gather by analogy and reaſon the matter how this expreſs covenant is tranſacted; and to that end I will ſet down theſe following conſiderations.

1. Under the law God did ordain his people in all their matters to have recourſe immediately to himſelf, and depend upon him for counſel, which they were ready to obey, with full

aſſurance of aid and protection from him againſt their enemies. This the devil imitateth by ſetting up of oracles among the heathen, to which all the kings, nations and mighty conquerors upon earth, did come, and paid their humbleſt adoration to the god (as the devil blaſphemouſly called himſelf) of the temple, in which they were imploring his direction and aſſiſtance in their doubtful and proſperous affairs. Again, God inſtituted ſacrifices to put men in mind of their duty to the Creator, to whom they owe all things, even themſelves; but the devil is not contented with the bare imitation hereof; the acknowledgment and worſhip he receiveth from the deluded world is not enough, though they offer up unto him innumerable hecatombs, unleſs they cauſe their children to paſs through the fire unto him, to whom no ſacrifice is ſo well pleaſing as that of human blood. And there is no reaſon to think, that now, under the economy of the goſpel, the devil hath left off to vie with God, and thereby to enſnare men. No, it is rather to be feared that his kingdom doth now more prevail; for by how much the light is greater, ſo much greater is their condemnation who do not receive it: it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that (ſeeing the Son of God, when he came to tranſact with men the wonderful covenant of their redemption, took upon him their nature,

and was perfect man) the devil likewiſe doth counterfeit the ſame, in appearing in an human ſhape to them who receive him, and confederate themſelves with him, and become his vaſſals.

2. Conſider, it is not probable that thoſe falſe apoſtles mentioned, 2 *Cor.* xi. 13, erred only in ceremonies or circumſtances, or that their errors, though great, did proceed rather from their ignorance than from the perverſeneſs of their minds. 1 *Cor.* iii. 15. For, for ſuch we may have charity and hope, that God will be merciful unto them, if they ſincerely do the beſt they know, though they diſſent in ſome, nay many things, from the practices and belief of the chriſtian church; but thoſe St. Paul threatens with a heavy curſe, that their end ſhall be according to their works; therefore it ſeems they immediately ſtruck at the very root and being of the chriſtian religion, and were the ſame with them ſpoken of, 2 *Tim.* iii. 6, but with this difference, that they did not reſiſt, but, beholding the miracles and ſigns which were done by the true apoſtle of our Lord, wondered, and believed alſo, and were baptized; yet, being ſorcerers, they were unwilling to loſe that great eſteem they had obtained; as it is related of Simon, who had bewitched the people of Samaria, giving out that he himſelf was ſome great one, to whom they all gave heed, from the leaſt to the

greateſt, ſaying, this man is the great power of God; therefore he could not brook that Peter or John ſhould have a greater power than himſelf; but offered them money, that on whomſoever he laid hands, he (that perſon) ſhould receive the Holy Ghoſt; which ſhews him, who thus deſigned to make merchandiſe of the Spirit, though baptized, to have been no true believer, but ſtill a ſorcerer, in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of iniquity. Such were thoſe deceitful workers, who, not being able barefaced to reſiſt, did put on chriſtianity as a maſk, that they might undermine the truth, and introduce the doctrines of devils. Samaria and Paphos were not the only two places where the devil had ſuch agents; there was no part of the earth where his kingdom was not eſtabliſhed, and where he had not his emiſſaries before the preaching of the goſpel; and ſince the text telleth us he hath his miniſters, who imitate their maſter, by being transformed into the apoſtles of Chriſt, as he himſelf is transformed into an angel of light: whoſe deſign, in being thus transformed, cannot be to impoſe upon the Almighty; for whatever ſhape he appears in, he cannot hide his uglineſs from the eyes of him who is omniſcient; therefore he appeareth thus in the ſhape of an angel of light, either to tempt and ſeduce the bleſſed ſpirits to rebel againſt God, or to en-

ſnare wicked men, who by their heinous crimes (being lovers of themſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers) were before diſpoſed to be fit inſtruments to ſerve him, and to enter into league with him. Surely I, who am ignorant of the laws by which the intellectual world is governed, dare not affirm that it is impoſſible for ſatan ſo to appear, as to hide his deformities from the good angels, and under that vail to tempt them: but certain I am that it is more conſonant to reaſon, to think that the apoſtle's intention here was to teach that the devil appeared as a glorified angel unto men, to gain miniſters, whom he might imbue with the poiſon of his black art, and (when he had gotten full poſſeſſion of them) inſtruct them by his own example to transform themſelves into the apoſtles of Chriſt, that under that vizard they might with the greater advantage promote his ends, and join with him in doing the utmoſt deſpite to the ſpirit of grace.

3d Conſideration: It is againſt the nature of this covenant, that it ſhould be conſummated by a mental colloquy between the devil and the witch. I know not how many articles it conſiſts of; but it is certain, from what has been already proved, that the renouncing of Chriſt to be the Son of God, and owning the devil to be, and worſhiping him as God, are the two chiefs, to

which our Saviour, who was accuſed of caſting out devils by Beelzebub, i. e. of being confederated with Beelzebub, was tempted to conſent: *If thou be the Son of God, command that theſe ſtones be made bread:* and again, *throw thyſelf down from hence; for it is written, he will give his angels charge over thee;* and again, *all theſe things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worſhip me.* Whence it is evident that here the devil laboured to inſinuate into our Lord, either to do things raſh and unwarrantable, or to ſuſpect his ſonſhip, revolt from God his father, and worſhip ſatan, that he might obtain the glory of the world. Now it has been already ſaid, that when Jeſus was tempted, the devil appeared unto him in a bodily ſhape; therefore it is agreeable to reaſon, that he doth appear in the ſame manner to all them, whom he alſo tempteth to worſhip him: moreover, the form of renouncing a covenant ought to bear reſemblance to the form of entering into the ſame covenant; therefore men who are received into the myſtical body of Chriſt by God's miniſter, who in God's ſtead expreſſly covenanteth with and then adminiſtereth the ſacrament of baptiſm unto them, muſt in the like manner go out of, or renounce, the ſaid covenant; and of them there are two ſorts, one who, through the perverſeneſs of their own hearts, the lucre of the

world, the fear of men more than of God, abjure their Saviour, turn apoſtates, turks, or pagans. The other ſort is of them who contract with the devil to be his ſubjects, in the initiation of whom it is not to be ſuppoſed that the devil will omit any material circumſtance which tends both to bring them into and confirm them in his ſervice. To effect which, his outward appearance, when he receives his catechumens, is of greater force than any mental contract; for many wicked men, who have denied God and Chriſt, not only in their practice, but alſo blaſphemouſly in profeſſion, yet have repented, and at laſt obtained ſome hope of mercy. I dare not ſay it is impoſſible for a witch to repent, and find mercy; the ſecrets of the Almighty are too high for me; but it is certain that theſe wretches are ſtrangely hardened, by what paſſes between them and the devil, in a bodily ſhape, particularly their worſhiping him, which neceſſarily implies his outward appearance unto them; for no man can love evil as evil, becauſe the law of ſelf-preſervation, deeply rooted in all men, determineth their will to purſue that which ſeems good, and fly from that which ſeems evil to them; but the inbred notion that every man has of the devil, is, that he is an enemy and deſtroyer of mankind, therefore every man hath a natural averſion from him, and conſequently

cannot formally worſhip him as ſuch, becauſe the object of worſhip muſt be eſteemed to be propitious and placable by the worſhipers; otherwiſe, if fear alone be the adequate cauſe of adoration, it follows that the devils and damned in hell do worſhip God, which is contrary to ſcripture, which ſaith they blaſphemed, becauſe of their pains; whence it follows, that they who worſhip the devil muſt have changed the innate idea that they had of him, viz. that he is an implacable worrier of men, and take him to be benign at leaſt to his own; but this change cannot be wrought by any ſuggeſtion of ſatan into the minds of men, whom indeed he mentally tempteth to luſt, pride and malice; but it is his greateſt artifice to cauſe his inſinuations to ariſe in the hearts of men, as their own natural thoughts; and if conſcience diſcovers their author, and oppoſes them, then he varniſhes them over with the ſpecious colours of pleaſure, honour and glory; and ſo repreſents them as really good, to be willed and deſired by the ſoul, which judgeth of all things without agreeing to the ideas ſhe hath of them; but becauſe moſt objects have two, and ſome many, faces, and ſhe not always attends, therefore ſhe often errs in her choice; nevertheleſs it is impoſſible for her to love an object, whoſe ſimple idea is evil; but the idea we have of the devil

is ſuch, for we cannot repreſent him in our minds any otherwiſe than the great deſtroyer of men, therefore no mental temptation can make us believe this our grand enemy to be ever exorable by, or in any meaſure favourable to us; whence it evidently follows, that the devil, to work this change of opinion his worſhipers have of him, muſt appear unto them in a bodily ſhape, and impoſe upon them, whom, becauſe of their great corruption and ſinfulneſs, God hath wholly left, and given up to ſtrong deluſions, that they ſhould believe a lie, and the father of lies; who, now appearing in a human ſhape, telleth them that he is not ſuch a monſter as he has been repreſented to them by his enemy, who calls himſelf God, which title of right belongs to him; and that he (if they contract to be his ſervants) will both amply reward them, by giving them power to do many things very ſuitable to their abominable depraved nature, that the chriſtians, whatever opinion they may pretend to have of their God, cannot ſo much as pretend to, and alſo that he will protect and defend them againſt him, whom heretofore they have miſtaken for the Almighty, and his pretended Son Chriſt, whom they muſt abjure before they can be received by or expect any benefit from him. Upon no other conſideration is it poſſible for any man to worſhip the devil; for the atheiſts, who

deny the being of a God, do likewiſe deny the exiſtence of any ſpirit good or bad; therefore their drinking the devil's health, even upon their knees (though a moſt horrid crime) cannot be conſtrued any part of worſhip paid to him, whom they aſſert to be a chimera, a mere figment of ſtateſmen to keep the vulgar in awe. Now I have evinced to you that there are witches; that the witch receiveth power from the devil to do ſtrange things; that there is an expreſs covenant between the devil and the witch; that this covenant cannot be tranſacted mentally, but that the devil muſt appear in a bodily ſhape to the witch; therefore I conclude, that a witch in the ſcripture is ſuch, who has made an explicit covenant with the devil, and is empowered by him to do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beſide their natural courſe.

II. I perſuade myſelf you do not expect from me any eſſay concerning the methods how witches may or ought to be convicted; I wiſh thoſe gentlemen, whoſe eminent ſtation both enables them to perform it, and likewiſe makes it their duty ſo to do, may take this province upon them, and handle it ſo fully as to ſatiſfy you herein. I once intended to have provided ſome materials for this work, by defining four principal things relating to witchcraft, viz. 1. Witch-fits. 2. The imps that are ſaid to attend on the witch.

3. The tranſportation of the witch through the air. 4. Laſtly, the inviſibility of the witch. But upon ſecond thought, that it was foreign from my purpoſe, who am not concerned to compoſe a juſt treatiſe of witchcraft, which would require more vacant time than my preſent circumſtances will allow; only I propoſed to give you my opinion privately; therefore I will venture to make uſe of an argument, which ſheweth neither art nor learning in the author; and it is this, That ſeeing there are witches, and that the law of God doth command them to be put to death, therefore there muſt be means to convict them, by clear and certain proof, otherwiſe the law were in vain; for no man can be juſtly condemned, who is not fairly convicted by full and certain evidence.

III. In the laſt place we are to inquire, whether a witch ought to be put to death or no? You anſwer in the negative; becauſe you ſay that that law, Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a witch to live, is *judicial*, and extendeth only to the people of the Jews; but our Saviour, or his apoſtles, have not delivered any where any ſuch command, therefore they ought to be ſuffered to live. This indeed ſeems ſomewhat plauſible at firſt view, but upon thorough examination hath no weight in it at all, for theſe reaſons, 1. All penal laws receive their ſanction from him or them who

have the ſovereign power in any ſtate; as, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, is a moral law, and obligatory over the conſciences of men in all places and ages; but that the adulterers ſhall be put to death, is a judicial law, and in force only in that ſtate where it is enacted by the ſovereign. 2. The government of the Jews was a theocracy, and God himſelf condeſcended to be their King, not only as he is King of kings; for in that ſenſe he is, always was, and ever will be, ſupreme Lord and Governor of all his creatures; but in an eſpecial manner to give them laws for the government of their ſtate, and to protect them againſt their enemies; in one word, to be immediately their Sovereign. 3. Our Saviour's kingdom was not of this world; he was no judge to divide ſo much as an inheritance between two brethren; nay, he himſelf ſubmitted patiently to the unjuſt ſentence of the governor of the country in which he lived; therefore both the rewards and puniſhments annexed to his laws are ſpiritual, and then ſhall have their full accompliſhment, when the Son of Man at the laſt day ſhall pronounce, *come unto me ye bleſſed, and depart ye curſed into everlaſting fire.* 4. That ſovereigns, who have received the goſpel of our Lord, have not therefore loſt their power of enacting laws for the ruling and preſerving their people, and puniſhing malefactors even

with death; ſo that the criminal is as juſtly condemned to die by our municipal, as he was heretofore by the judicial law among the Jews. How much more then ought our law to advert againſt the higheſt of all criminals, thoſe execrable men and women, who, though yet alive, have liſted themſelves under ſatan's banner, and explicitly ſworn allegiance to him, to fight againſt God and Chriſt! Indeed all unholy men afford great matter to the devils of blaſpheming; but theſe wretches have confederated themſelves with the devils, to blaſpheme and deſtroy all they can. And do you think that theſe common enemies of God and mankind ought to be ſuffered to live in a chriſtian commonwealth? eſpecially conſidering that we have a precedent of putting them to death from God himſelf, when he acted as King over his own peculiar people. But methinks I hear you ſaying, All this doth not ſatiſfy me, for I am ſure nothing can be added to the devil's malice; and if he could, he certainly would, appear, and frighten all men out of their wits. I anſwer, 1. We muſt not reject a truth, becauſe we cannot reſolve all the queſtions that may be propoſed about it; otherwiſe all our ſcience muſt be turned into ſcepticiſm, for we have not a comprehenſive knowledge of any one thing. — 2. When you ſay, that if the devil could, he would appear

and frighten all men — the lawful conſequence is, not that he cannot appear at all, for we have undoubtedly proved the contrary, but that we are ignorant of the bounds that the Almighty hath ſet to him, whoſe malice indeed, if he were not reſtrained, is ſo great as to deſtroy all men; but the goodneſs of our God is greater, who hath given us means to eſcape his fury, if we will give earneſt heed to the goſpel of our Saviour, which only is able to comfort us againſt the ſad and miſerable condition of our preſent ſtate; for not only the devils, but likewiſe all do conſpire againſt us to work our ruin. The deluge came and ſwept away all the race (ſave eight perſons) of mankind: the fire will in time devour what the water has left; and all this cometh to paſs becauſe of ſin: but we, who have received the Lord Jeſus, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteouſneſs. Therefore he, if we purify ourſelves as he is pure, will ſave us (for when he appears we ſhall be made like unto him, to whom be glory forever, Amen) from the great deſtruction that muſt come upon all the world, and inhabitants thereof. Farewell.

March 8, 1693.

Boſton, March 20, 1693.

Worthy Sir,

The great pains you have taken for my information and ſatiſfaction in thoſe controverted points relating to witchcraft, whether it attain the end or not, cannot require leſs than ſuitable acknowledgments and gratitude; eſpecially conſidering you had no particular obligation of office to it, and when others, whoſe proper province it was, had declined it. It is a great truth, that the many hereſies among the chriſtians (not the lying miracles, or witchcrafts, uſed by ſome to induce to the worſhip of images, &c.) muſt not give a mortal wound to chriſtianity or truth; but the great queſtion in theſe controverted points ſtill is, What is truth? And in this ſearch, being agreed in the judge or rule, there is great hopes of the iſſue. That there are witches, is plain from that rule of truth, the ſcriptures, which commands their puniſhment by death. But what that witchcraft is, or wherein it does conſiſt, is the whole difficulty. That head cited from mr. Gaule, and ſo well proved thereby (not denied by any) makes the work yet ſhorter; ſo that it is agreed to conſiſt in a maligning, &c. and ſeeking by a ſign to ſeduce, &c. not excluding any other ſorts or branches, when as well proved by that infallible rule. That good angels have appeared, is certain; though that inſtance of thoſe

to Abraham may admit of a various conſtruction; ſome divines ſuppoſing them to be the Trinity; others, that they were men-meſſengers, as *Judges* ii. 1; and others, that they were angels. But though this, as I ſaid, might admit of a debate, yet I ſee no queſtion of the angel Gabriel's appearance, particularly to the bleſſed virgin for though the angels are ſpirits, and ſo not perceptible by our bodily eyes without the appointment of the Moſt High, yet he, who made all things by his word in the creation, can with a word ſpeak things into being. And whether the angels did aſſume matter (or a vehicle) and by that appear to the bodily eye; or whether by the ſame word there were an idea framed in the mind, which needed no vehicle to repreſent them to the intellects, is with the All-wiſe, and not for me to diſpute. If we poor ſhallow mortals do not comprehend the manner how, that argues only our weakneſs. Two other times did this glorious angel appear. *Dan.* viii. 16. *Dan.* ix. 21. The firſt of theſe times was in viſion, as by the text and context will appear. The ſecond was the ſame as the firſt; which, being conſidered as it will, aſcertains that angels have appeared, ſo that it is at the will of the ſender how they ſhall appear, whether to the bodily eye, or intellect only. *Matt.* i. 20. The appearance of the angel to Joſeph was in a dream, and yet

a real appearance; ſo was there a real appearance to the apoſtle, but whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell; and that they are ſent, and come not of their own motion. *Luke* i. 26, *And in the ſixth month the angel Gabriel was ſent from God.* Dan. ix. 23, *At the beginning of thy ſupplication the commandment came forth, and I am come. v.* 21, *Being cauſed to fly ſwiftly, &c.* But from theſe places may be ſet down, as undoubted truths or concluſions,

1. That the glorious angels have their miſſion and commiſſion from the Moſt High.

2. That without this they cannot appear to mankind. And from theſe two will neceſſarily flow a third:

3. That if the glorious angels have not that power to go till commiſſioned, or to appear to mortals, then not the fallen angels; who are held in chains of darkneſs to the judgment of the great day. Therefore to argue, that becauſe the good angels have appeared, the evil may or can, is to me as if, becauſe the dead have been raiſed to life by holy prophets, therefore men, wicked men, can raiſe the dead. As the ſufferings, ſo the temptations, of our Saviour were (in degree) beyond thoſe common to man. He being the ſecond Adam, or public head, the ſtrongeſt aſſaults were now improved; and we read that he was tempted, that he might be able

to ſuccour them that are tempted; as alſo that he was led of the Spirit into the wilderneſs, that he might be tempted, &c. But how the tempter appeared to him who was God Omniſcient; whether to the bodily eye, or to the intellect, is as far beyond my cognizance, as for a blind man to judge of colours. But from the whole ſet down this fourth concluſion:

4. That when the Almighty Free Agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or man's good, he can employ not only bleſſed angels, but the evil ones, in it, as 2 *Cor.* xii. 7, *And leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure, there was given to me a thorn in the fleſh, the meſſenger of ſatan to buffet me.* 1 *Sam.* xvi. 14, 15 & 23, *An evil ſpirit from the Lord troubled him*, &c. It is a great truth, that we underſtand little, very little, and that in common things; how much leſs then in ſpirituals, ſuch as are above human cognizance! But though upon the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny in ſome natural things we can only diſcover our ignorance, yet we muſt not hence deny what we do know, or ſuffer a rape to be committed upon our reaſon and ſenſes in the dark. And to ſay that the devil by his ordinary power can act a vehicle, i. e. ſome matter diſtinct from himſelf, who is wholly a ſpirit, and yet this matter not to be felt nor heard, and at the ſame time to be ſeen; or may be felt, and not heard, nor

ſeen, &c. ſeems to me to be a chimera, invented at firſt to puzzle the belief of reaſonable creatures, and ſince calculated to a roman latitude, to uphold the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation; who teach, that under the accidents of bread is contained the body of our Saviour, his human body, as long and as broad, &c. for here the power of the Almighty muſt not be confined to be leſs than the devil's, and it is he that has ſaid, *hoc eſt meum corpus.* As to the conſent of almoſt all ages, I meddle not now with it, but come to the fifth concluſion:

5. That when the Divine Being will employ the agency of evil ſpirits for any ſervice, it is with him to determine how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily eye, or intellect only; and whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable. To deny theſe three laſt, were to make the devil an independent power, and conſequently a God. As to the nature of poſſeſſions by evil ſpirits, for the better underſtanding of it, it may be needful to compare it with its contraries; and to inſtance in Samſon, of whom it was foretold, that he ſhould begin to deliver Iſrael. And how was he enabled to this work? *Judges* xiii. 25, *The ſpirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp*, &c. Chap. xv. 13, 14. *v. And they bound him with two new cords, and brought him up from the rock; and when they came*

to Lehi, the Philiſtines ſhouted againſt him; and the ſpirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and the cords that were upon his arms became as flax, that was burnt with fire, and his bands looſed from his hands, &c. I might inſtance further; but this may ſuffice to ſhow that he had more than a natural ſtrength, as alſo whence his ſtrength was, viz. he was empowered by the ſpirit from God. And now will any ſay, that it was not Samſon, but the ſpirit, that did theſe things; or, that theſe being things done, bonds broken, &c. by a force that could not proceed from human ſtrength, that therefore the ſpirit entered into him otherwiſe qualified than as a mere ſpirit; or, that the ſpirit entered not without ſome portion of matter, and by the intermediation thereof acted Samſon's body? If any ſay this and more too, this doth not alter the truth, which remains, viz. that the ſpirit of God did enable Samſon to the doing of things beyond his natural ſtrength. And now what remains but, upon parity of reaſon, to apply this to the caſe of poſſeſſion? which may be ſummed up in this ſixth concluſion:

6. That God, for wiſe ends, only known to himſelf, may and has empowered devils to poſſeſs and ſtrangely to actuate human bodies, even to the doing of things beyond the natural ſtrength of that body. And for any to tell of a

vehicle, or matter uſed in it, I muſt obſerve that general rule, *Coloſs.* ii. 8, "Beware leſt any ſpoil you through philoſophy, and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Chriſt." To come next to that of witchcraft, and here taking that cited head of mr. Gaule to be uncontroverted, ſet it as a ſeventh concluſion:

7. That witchcraft conſiſts in a maligning and oppoſing the word, work and worſhip of God, and ſeeking by any extraordinary ſign to ſeduce any from it. *Deut.* xiii. 12. *Matt.* xxiv. 24. *Acts* xiii. 8, 10. 2 *Tim.* iii. 8. Do but mark well the places; and for this very property of thus oppoſing and perverting, they are all there concluded arrant and abſolute witches; and it will be eaſily granted, that the ſame that is called witch, is called a falſe Chriſt, a falſe prophet, and a ſorcerer, and that the terms are ſynonimous; and that what the witches aim at is, to ſeduce the people to ſeek after other gods. But here the queſtion will be, whether the witch really do things ſtrange in themſelves, and beyond their natural courſe, and all this by a power immediately from the devil. In this inquiry, as we have nothing to do with unwritten verities, ſo but little with cabaliſtic learning, which might perhaps but lead us more aſtray; as in the inſtance of their charging our Saviour with

caſting out devils by Beelzebub; his anſwer is, if ſatan be divided againſt himſelf, his kingdom hath an end. But ſeeing all are agreed, ſet this eighth concluſion:

8. That God will not give his teſtimony to a lie. To ſay that God did at any time empower a witch to work wonders,* to gain belief to the doctrine of devils, were with one breath to deſtroy the root and branch of all revealed religion. And hence it is clear the witch has no ſuch wonder-working power from God. And muſt we then conclude ſhe has ſuch a miraculous power from the devil? If ſo, then it follows, that either God gives the devil leave to empower the witch to make uſe of this ſeal, in order to deceive, or elſe that the devil has this power independent of himſelf. To aſſert the firſt of theſe were in effect to ſay, that though God will not give his teſtimony to a lie, yet that he may empower the devil to ſet to it God's own ſeal, in order to deceive. And what were this but to overthrow all revealed religion? The laſt, if aſſerted, muſt be to own the devil to be

*Jos. Glanvil, in his *Saduciſmus Triumphatus*, publiſhed in London in 1681, and which was conſidered good authority in the trials in 1692, says "a witch is one who can do or ſeem to do ſtrange things beyond the known power of art and ordinary nature by virtue of a confederacy with evil ſpirits." It was the ſtrict application of the above rule or teſt, in the caſe of George Burroughs, that coſt him his life.

an unconquered enemy, and conſequently a ſovereign deity, and deſerving much thanks, that he exerts his power no more. Therefore in this dilemma it is wiſdom for ſhallow mortals to have recourſe to their only guide, and impartially to inquire, whether the witches really have ſuch a miraculous or wonder-working power. And it is remarkable that the apoſtle, *Gal.* v. 20, reckons up witchcraft among the works of the fleſh; which, were it indeed a wonder-working power, received immediately from the devil, and wholly beyond the power of nature, it were very improper to place it with drunkenneſs, murthers, adulteries, &c. all manifeſt fleſhly works. 'Tis alſo remarkable, that witchcraft is generally in ſcripture joined with ſpiritual whoredom, i. e. idolatry. This thence will plainly appear to be the ſame; only pretending to a ſign, in order to deceive, ſeems to be yet a further degree: and in this ſenſe Manaſſeh and Jezebel, 2 *Chron.* xxxiii. 6; 2 *Kings* ix. 22, uſed witchcraft and whoredoms. *Nahum* iii. 4, the idolatrous city is called miſtreſs of witchcrafts. But to inſtance in one place inſtead of many, 2 *Theſſ.* ii. 3 to 12, particularly 9 and 10 *v. Even him, whoſe coming is after the working of ſatan, with all power and ſigns, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableneſs. And for this cauſe God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, that they all*

might be damned, who believe not the truth, &c. This that then was ſpoken in the prophecy of that man of ſin, that was to appear, how abundantly does hiſtory teſtify the fulfilment of it, particularly to ſeduce to the worſhip of images! Have not the images been made to move, to ſmile, &c.? Too tedious were it to mention the hundredth part of what undoubted hiſtory doth abundantly teſtify. And hence do ſet down this ninth concluſion:

9. That the man of ſin, or ſeducer, &c. makes uſe of lying wonders to the end to deceive, and that God in righteous judgment *may ſend ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, that they might be damned, who believe not the truth*, &c.

'Tis certain that the devil is a proud being, and would be thought to have a power equal to the Almighty; and it cannot but be very grateful to him to ſee mortals charging one another with doing ſuch works by the devil's power, as in truth is the proper prerogative of the Almighty, Omnipotent Being. The next head ſhould have been about an explicit covenant between the witch and the devil, &c. But in this, the whole of it, I cannot perſuade myſelf but you muſt be ſenſible of an apparent leaning to education (or tradition) the ſcriptures being wholly ſilent on it; and ſuppoſing this to fall in as a dependent on what went before, I ſhall ſay the

leſs to it; for if the devil has no ſuch power to communicate upon ſuch compact, then the whole is a fiction; though I cannot but acknowledge you have ſaid ſo much to uphold that doctrine, that I know not how any could have done more. However, as I ſaid, I find not myſelf engaged (unleſs ſcripture proof were offered) to meddle with it: for as you have in ſuch caſes your reaſon for your guide, ſo I muſt be allowed to uſe that little that I have, and do only ſay, that as God is a ſpirit, ſo he muſt be worſhiped in ſpirit and in truth; ſo alſo that the devil is a ſpirit, and that his rule is in the hearts of the children of diſobedience, and that an explicit covenant of one nature or another can have little force, any further than as the heart is engaged in it. And ſo I paſs to the laſt, viz. whether a witch ought to be put to death; and without accumulation of the offence do judge, that where the law of any country is to puniſh by death ſuch as ſeduce and tempt to the worſhip of ſtrange gods (or idols, or ſtatues) by as good authority may they, no doubt, puniſh theſe as capital offenders, who are diſtinguiſhed by that one remove, viz. to their ſeducing is added a ſign, i. e. they pretend to a ſign in order to ſeduce. And thus, worthy ſir, I have freely given you my thoughts upon yours, which you ſo much obliged me with the ſight of; and upon the whole,

though I cannot in the general but commend your caution in not aſſerting many things contended for by others, yet muſt ſay, that in my eſteem there is retained ſo much as will ſecure all the reſt: (to inſtance) if a ſpirit has a vehicle, i. e. ſome portion of matter which it acts, &c. hence as neceſſarily may be inferred that doctrine of *incubus* and *succubus*, and why not that alſo of procreation by ſpirits both good and bad? Thus was Alexander the Great, the Britiſh Merlin, and Martin Luther, and many others, ſaid to be begotten. Again, if the witch had ſuch a wonder-working power, why not to afflict? Will not the devil thus far gratify her? And have none this miraculous power, but the covenanting witch? Then the offence lies in the covenant; then it is not only hard, but impoſſible, to find a witch by ſuch evidence as the law of God requires; for it will not be ſuppoſed that they call witneſs to this covenant; therefore it will here be neceſſary to admit of ſuch as the nature of ſuch covenant will bear (as mr. Gaule hath it in his fifth head, i. e.) the teſtimony of the afflicted, with their ſpectral ſight, to tell who afflicts themſelves or others; the experiment of ſaying the Lord's prayer, falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch, ſearching for teats, (i. e. excreſcences of nature) ſtrange and foreign ſtories of the death of ſome cattle, or overſetting ſome

cart. And what can juries have better to guide them to find out this covenant by?

It is matter of lamentation, and let it be for a lamentation, to conſider how theſe things have opened the floodgates of malice, revenge, uncharitableneſs and bloodſhed, and what multitudes have been ſwept away by this torrent.

In *Germany*, countries depopulated; in *Scotland*, no leſs than 4000 are ſaid to have ſuffered by fire and halter at one heat.

Thus we may ſay with the prophet *Iſa.* lix. 10, *We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes: we ſtumble at noonday as in the night, we are in deſolate places as dead men:* and this by ſeeking to be wiſe above what is written, in framing to ourſelves ſuch crimes and ſuch ordeals (or ways of trial) as are wholly foreign from the direction of our only guide, which ſhould be a light to our feet, and a lanthorn to our paths; but inſtead of this, if we have not followed the direction, we have followed the example, of pagan and papal Rome, thereby rendering us contemptible and baſe before all people, according as we have not kept his ways, but have been partial in his law.

And now, that we may, in all our ſentiments and ways, have regard to his teſtimonies, and give to the Almighty the glory due to his name,

is the earneſt deſire and prayer of, ſir, yours to command, R. C.

Sir,

Since your deſign of giving copies of our papers, if not to the public, at leaſt out of your hands, I find myſelf obliged to make a reply to your anſwer, leſt ſilence ſhould be conſtrued an aſſent to the poſitions whereby, I think, truth would be ſcandalized.

I remember that ſome have taught that it is not certain there is any ſuch thing really in being as matter; becauſe the ideas which we have of our own and all other bodies may be cauſed to ariſe in us by God, without the real exiſtence of the objects they repreſent. But this opinion is not only abſurd and falſe, but likewiſe atheiſtical, deſtroying the veracity of the Almighty, whom it aſſerts to have determined us by a fatal neceſſity to believe things to be, which are not; and I wonder that you ſhould allude unto it, becauſe that angels have appeared in a dream, in a viſion; for we dream alſo of trees, birds, &c. Are there therefore no ſuch things in nature, because we ſometimes dream to ſee and hear them, when we are aſleep? St. Paul in his viſion was ſo far from believing the objects that were repreſented to him to come by the intermedium of his ſenſes, that he declares, he does

not know whether he was in the body or out of the body; therefore the inſtance is in no wiſe proper. For Abraham and the Bleſſed Virgin did ſee and hear; and if there were not ſuch things really, as were repreſented to them by their ſenſes, they were deluded, by being made to believe they ſaw and heard what was not. There is none who denieth God cauſeth thoughts to ariſe in men's minds; but thence to infer he maketh objects which are not, by forming their ideas in our minds, to appear to us through the miniſtry of our ſenſes as though they were, is a piece not only of vain, but very dangerous, philoſophy.

It is true, the good angels will not appear without the appointment of God; they will not do any one action, but according to the laws he has preſcribed to them. But you ſay they cannot, (which does not follow from your premiſes) ſuppoſing their not appearing to proceed from the defect of their power, and not the rectitude of their will; which fallacy has deceived you into a third concluſion: for the fallen angels are not ſo held under chains of darkneſs, but that they can, and do, go to and fro on the earth, ſeeking whom they may devour. Before their fall they could have appeared if ſent, and would not then do anything without a divine command; but now they have rebelled

againſt God, and do all they can to deſpite him; therefore their not appearing now (if it were true they never did, they never ſhall, appear) muſt proceed from a reſtraint they are under, which is accidental, not eſſential to their nature; ſo that the true concluſion is, the fallen angels, while they are under forcible reſtraint from God to the contrary, cannot appear. But what this (being cleared from the ambiguity you expreſs it in) maketh to the purpoſe, I know not, unleſs God had promiſed for a determinate time to detain them under this reſtraint.

I do not underſtand what you intend by the dead being raiſed by holy men; the moſt natural inference is, that, in imitation of them, wicked men, by their enchantments calling on a dæmon to appear in the ſhape of the dead, will pretend that they alſo can raiſe the dead.

The Romaniſts are much obliged to you for making tranſubſtantiation (ſo much contended for by them) to be of as old a date as the appearance of devils, and that the one implieth no more contradiction than the other: if ſo, we do well to think ſeriouſly whether we are not guilty of great ſin in ſeparating from them; for certainly whatever private men's notions in this age may be, yet it is matter of great moment, that all antiquity (the ſadducees, the elder brethren of our Hobbiſts, excepted) hath be-

lieved the appearance of evil ſpirits and their deluſions.

I ſhould be too officious if I offered to explain how matter, real matter, may fall under the cogniſance of one of our ſenſes, and not the reſt. It is for you to ſhew the impoſſibility thereof, if you will build any thing upon your aſſertion; to prove which, your firſt argument is (it ſeems to me) a chimera; which is not enough, when there are many to whom it ſeems to be a truth. Your ſecond is very dangerous, and highly derogatory of the honour of God, between whom and the devil you make compariſon more than once, as the power of the Almighty muſt not be conſidered to be leſs than the devil's. And again, to deny theſe three laſt were to make the devil an independent power, and conſequently a God. Theſe expreſſions (which cannot but be very pleaſing to the devil, who vainly boaſts himſelf to be a being without dependence) are altogether groundleſs, and very unmeet to proceed from a chriſtian. Conſider what you are doing; to eſtabliſh a doctrine (the contrary whereof the greateſt part of mankind does believe) you run upon ſuch precipices, as, if you are miſtaken, (and that is not impoſſible) muſt totally deſtroy all religion, natural and revealed; for ſuppoſe it were generally believed, according to you, that the devil cannot appear, becauſe if he could he muſt

be a God, independent, an unconquered enemy, and he doth appear to us as we hear he hath to multitudes, both of the paſt and preſent ages; in ſuch a caſe what remains for us to do, but to fall down and worſhip him?

Upon the head of poſſeſſion, you have recourſe to that inſtance of *Samſon*, who was empowered by God to the doing of things beyond the natural ſtrength of common men; and thence you ſay, we may at leaſt learn the nature of poſſeſſion by evil ſpirits. This compariſon is indeed very odious, and I had rather think you have fallen into it unawares; for what greater blaſphemy, than that God and the devil do act the bodies, which the one and the other do poſſeſs, in the ſame manner? If the hypotheſis I laid down had not pleaſed you, yet you ought not (for fear of being deceived by vain philoſophy) to have run to ſo horrible an extreme, as to aſſimilate God's manner of working to the devil's, which neceſſarily implies, that either their powers are equal, or at leaſt that they do not differ in kind, but in degree only; than which nothing can be more impious or abſurd: for the moſt poſſible perfect creature is infinitely diſtant from the Creator, and there can be no compariſon between them.

On the head of witchcraft, you acknowledge the witch has not his wonder-working power

from God; but then you ſay, the devil has no ſuch power to give; for if he had, he muſt be ——. This way of reaſoning, as I noted before, is very dangerous, and I think ought not to be uſed; beſides, there is a great fallacy in your dilemma; which, becauſe I perceive you lay the whole weight of the matter upon it, I will evince unto you. The devil, though ſuperlatively arrogant and proud, nevertheleſs depends on the Firſt Cauſe for his being, and all his powers, without whoſe influx he or any other creature cannot ſubſiſt a moment, but muſt either return to their primitive nothing, or be continually preſerved by the ſame power, by the which they were at firſt produced; therefore the being and powers of all creatures (becauſe they immediately flow from God) are good, and conſequently the ſimple actions, as they proceed from thoſe powers, are in their own nature likewiſe good, the evil proceeding only from the rebellious will of the creature; wherefore it is no paradox, but a certain truth, that the ſame action in reſpect of the firſt cauſe is good, but in reſpect of the ſecond is evil; for inſtance, the act of copulation is in itſelf good, inſtituted by God, and may be explicitly willed and deſired by the ſoul, which ſinneth not for exerting the ſimple act, but for exerting it contrary to the laws preſcribed by God: as in wedlock and adultery there is the

ſame ſpecial natural action, which, conſidered ſimply, as flowing from a power given to man by God, is certainly good; but conſidered with relation to the rebellious will of the adulterer (who lieth with his neighbour's wife, whom he is forbid to touch) is a very great evil. We may ſay the ſame of all human actions; the executioner and the murtherer do the ſame natural act of ſtriking and killing: the difference conſiſts in the rectitude of the one's, and depravation of the other's, will. Theſe things premiſed, what more reaſon have we to conclude that the devil (becauſe he ſhews ſigns and wonders to gain belief to lies, which is very contrary to the will of God) muſt be therefore an independent power, than that the adulterer, the murtherer, or any other ſinner (becauſe their actions being evil, of which God cannot be the cauſe) muſt be independent beings? The deceit of the laſt is very palpable, and I doubt not but you will readily acknowledge it; for it is obvious from what has been ſaid, to the meaneſt capacity, to diſtinguiſh between the action itſelf, which is good, and flows from God, and the circumſtances of the action, the choice whereof proceeds from the iniquity of the will, wherein doth ſolely conſiſt the ſin; the parallel is ſo exact, that I cannot ſee the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon, why we ought not in like manner to diſtinguiſh whatever

effect is produced by the devil; to whom (as to man) God, having given powers, and a will to rule thoſe powers, is truly and properly the cauſe of all the actions (in a natural, but not moral ſenſe) that flow from the powers he has given. Therefore the wonder-working power of the devil, and the effects thereof, conſidered as acts of one of God's creatures, are not evil but good; the uſing that power (which proceeds from the rebellion of ſatan) to bear teſtimony to a lie, is that one, which conſtitutes the evil thereof.

And now I have done with your argument, wherein you have indeed ſhewn great ſkill and dexterity in turning to your advantage what, being fairly ſtated, makes againſt you, as the appearance of angels, &c. obſerving nicely the rules of art, and particularly that grand one of concealing, nay diſſembling, the ſame art; as when you quote that ſcripture concerning vain philoſophy (of which, though altogether foreign from the matter in hand, yet) you intend to ſerve yourſelf with the unthinking, who meaſure the ſenſe of words by their jingle, not knowing how to weigh the things they ſignify; and truly herein your end is very artificial: for you intend both to throw dirt at them that differ from you, and at the ſame time to cover yourſelf with ſuch a ſubtle web, through which you may ſee, and not be ſeen. What follows is rather a rhetorical

lecture, ſuch as the patriots of ſects (who commonly explain the holy ſcriptures according to their own dogmas, and ſo obtrude human invention for the pure word of God) uſe with their auditors, to recommend any principle they have a mind to eſtabliſh, than an impartial and thorough diſquiſition of a controverted point; wherefore I do not think myſelf obliged to take any further notice of it; eſpecially ſeeing truth, which for the moſt part is little regarded in ſuch florid diſcourſes, and not any prejudice of education, intereſt or party, did ſet me about this ſubject. I have never been uſed to compliment in points of controverſy, therefore I hope you will not be angry becauſe I have given you my thoughts naked and plain. I have not the leaſt motion in my mind of accuſing you of any formal deſign to injure religion; I only obſerve unto you, that your over eager contention to maintain your principle has hurried you to aſſert many things of much greater danger, both in themſelves and their conſequences, than thoſe you would ſeem to avoid; which do amount to no more than that men, being (in the ordinary courſe of providence) the depoſitories of both divine and human laws, may (inſtead of uſing them to preſerve) pervert them to deſtroy; which indeed is very lamentable. But it is the inevitable conſequent of our depraved nature, and cannot be wholly remedied,

till ſin, and the grand author of ſin, the devil, be entirely conquered, and God be all in all; to whom, with the Son, and Holy Ghoſt, be glory for ever, Amen.

Sir, your affectionate friend to ſerve you.

Boſton, July 25, 1694.

Worthy Sir, *Boſton, Auguſt* 17, 1694.

Yours of July 25 being in ſome ſort ſurpriſing to me, I could do no leſs than ſay ſomewhat, as well to vindicate myſelf from thoſe many reflections, miſtakes and hard cenſures therein, as alſo to vindicate what I conceive to be important truth; and to that end find it needful to repeat ſome part of mine, viz. concluſion

1. That the glorious angels have their miſſion and commiſſion from the Moſt High.

2. That without this they cannot appear to mankind.

3. That if the glorious angels have not that power to go till commiſſioned, or to appear to mortals, then not the fallen angels, who are held in chains of darkneſs to the judgment of the great day.

4. That when the Almighty Free Agent has a work to bring about for his own glory, or man's good, he can employ not only the bleſſed angels, but evil ones, in it.

5. That when the Divine Being will employ the agency of evil ſpirits for any ſervice, it is with him the manner how they ſhall exhibit themſelves, whether to the bodily eye, or intellect only, or whether it ſhall be more or leſs formidable.

To deny theſe three laſt, were to make the devil an independent power, and conſequently a God.

The bare recital of theſe is ſufficient to vindicate me from that reiterated charge, of denying all appearances of angels or devils.

That the good angels cannot appear without miſſion and commiſſion from the Moſt High, is, you ſay, more than follows from the premiſes; but if you like not ſuch negative deduction, though ſo natural, it concerns you (if you will aſſert this power to be in their natures, and their non-appearance only to proceed from the rectitude of their wills, and that without ſuch commiſſion they have a power to appear to mortals, and upon this to build ſo prodigious a ſtructure, &c.) very clearly to prove it by ſcripture; for chriſtians have good reaſon to take the apoſtle's warning (if ſome philoſophers have taught that man is nothing but matter, and others that 'tis not certain there is any matter at all) *to take heed leſt they ſhould be ſpoiled through vain philoſophy*, &c. but that this ſhould be alluded to ſuch as

never heard of either notion, or that it was aſſerted that thoſe real appearances to Joſeph, and to the apoſtle, were through the miniſtry of the ſenſes, is as vain as ſuch philoſophy. As to the dead being raiſed, had I uſed art or rhetorick enough to explain my meaning to you, I needed not now to rejoin,—that 'tis as good an argument to ſay, that becauſe holy prophets have raiſed the dead, therefore wicked men have a power to raiſe the dead, as 'tis to ſay, becauſe good angels have appeared, therefore the evil have a power to appear; for who can doubt, but if the Almighty ſhall commiſſion a wicked man to it, he alſo ſhall raiſe the dead? as is intimated, Matt. vii. 22, *And in thy name done many wonderful works.* As to compariſons being odious, particularly that concerning Samſon, I think it needful here to add theſe ſcriptures further to confirm the fourth concluſion. 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 1, compared with 1 *Chron.* xxi. 1. In one 'tis *God moved*, &c. and in the other *Satan provoked David to number the people.* 2 Chron. xviii. 21, *And the Lord ſaid, thou ſhalt entice him and thou ſhalt alſo prevail; go out and do even ſo*; all which, with many more that might be produced, will ſhew the truth of the concluſion; ſo that 'tis no odious compariſon to ſay, that as the Almighty can make uſe of good, ſo alſo of evil ſpirits, for the accompliſhing of his own wiſe

ends, and can empower either without the help of a vehicle: for poſſeſſions muſt be numbered among God's afflictive diſpenſations, who alſo orders all the circumſtances thereof. But if any object, God is not the author of evil, &c. you have furniſhed me with a very learned anſwer, by diſtinguiſhing between the act, and the evil of the act, and to which 'tis adapt, but will no wiſe ſuit where it is placed, till it be firſt proved that the devil hath of himſelf ſuch power not only of appearing at pleaſure, but of working miracles, and to the Almighty reſerved only the power of reſtraining; for, till this be proved, the dilemma muſt remain ſtable. He that aſſerts, that becauſe good angels have appeared, therefore the fallen angels have a power of themſelves to appear to mortals, and that they cannot be employed by the Almighty, nor that he does not order the manner and circumſtances of ſuch appearance, what doth he leſs than make the devil an independent power, and conſequently a God? So he that aſſerts that the devil hath a power of himſelf, and independent, to work wonders, and miracles, and to empower witches to do like in order to deceive, &c. what doth he leſs than own him to be an unconquered enemy, and conſequently a ſovereign deity? and who is he that is culpable? he that aſcribes ſuch attributes to the evil one, or he that aſſerts that the ſo

doing gives him (or aſcribes to him) ſuch power as is the prerogative of him only who is Almighty? And here, ſir, it highly concerns you to conſider your foundations, what proof from ſcripture is to be found for your aſſertions, and who it is you are contending for: for hitherto nothing like a proof hath been offered from ſcripture, which abounds ſo with the contrary, that he that runs may read; as, *Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it? Who is he that ſaith, and it cometh to paſs, when the Lord commandeth not? Who among the gods of the heathen* (of which the devil is one) *can give rain?* &c.

But I ſhall not be tedious in multiplying proofs, to that which all ſeem to own. For as to that ſtale plea of univerſality, do ſay that I have read of one, if not ſeveral, general councils, that have not only diſapproved, but anathematiſed them that have aſcribed ſuch powers to the devils. And ſeveral national proteſtant churches at this day, in their exhortations before the ſacrament (among other enormous crimes) admoniſh all that believe any ſuch power in the witch, &c. to withdraw, as unmeet to partake at the Lord's table.

And I believe chriſtians in general, if they were aſked, would own that what powers the devil may at any time have to appear, to afflict,

deſtroy, or cauſe tempeſts, &c. muſt be by power or commiſſion from the Sovereign Being; and that, having ſuch a commiſſion, not only hail, but frogs, lice, or fleas, ſhall be empowered to plague a great king and kingdom. And if ſo, this ſandy ſtructure of the devil's appearance, and working wonders, at pleaſure, and of empowering witches to afflict, &c. (for to this narrow criſis is that whole doctrine reduced) the whole diſappears at the firſt ſhaking.

Thus, worthy ſir, I have given you my ſentiments, and the grounds thereof, as plainly and as conciſe as I was able; though 'tis indeed a ſubject that calls for the ableſt pens to diſcuſs, acknowledging myſelf to be inſufficient for theſe things. However, I think I have done but my duty, for the glory of God, the ſovereign being; and have purpoſely avoided ſuch a reply as ſome parts of yours required; and pray that not only you and I, but all mankind, may give to the Almighty the glory due unto his name.

From, ſir, yours to command, R. C.

Witchcraft is manifeſtly a work of the fleſh.

PART V.

AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST MEMORABLE

MATTERS OF FACT,

TOUCHING THE SUPPOSED WITCHCRAFT
IN NEW-ENGLAND.

MR. PARRIS had been ſome years a miniſter in Salem Village,* when this ſad calamity, as a deluge, overflowed them, ſpreading itſelf far and near. He was a gentleman of liberal education; and, not meeting with any great encouragement, or advantage, in merchandiſing, to which for ſome time he applied himſelf, betook himſelf to the work of the miniſtry; this Village being then vacant, he met with ſo much encouragement, as to ſettle in that capacity among them.

After he had been there about two years, he

* Mr. Parris was ſettled over the Village church Nov 19th, 1689.

obtained a grant from a part of the town, that the houſe and land he occupied, and which had been allotted by the whole people to the miniſtry, ſhould be and remain to him, &c. as his own eſtate in fee ſimple. This occaſioned great diviſions both between the inhabitants themſelves, and between a conſiderable part of them and their ſaid miniſter; which diviſions were but as a beginning, or prelude, to what immediately followed.

It was the latter end of *February*, 1691, when divers young perſons* belonging to mr. Parris's family, and one or more of the neighbourhood, began to act after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, viz. as by getting into holes, and creeping under chairs and ſtools, and to uſe ſundry odd poſtures and antick geſtures, uttering fooliſh, ridiculous ſpeeches, which neither they themſelves nor any others could make ſenſe of. The phyſicians that were called could aſſign no reaſon for this; but it ſeems one of them, having recourſe to the old ſhift, told them, he was afraid they were bewitched. Upon ſuch ſuggeſtions, they that were concerned applied themſelves to faſting and prayer, which was attended not only in their own private families, but with calling in the help of others. *March the* 11*th*, mr. Parris

*Elizabeth Parris, his daughter, aged nine years, and Abigail Williams, his niece, aged eleven years.

invited ſeveral neighbouring miniſters to join with him in keeping a ſolemn day of prayer at his own houſe. The time of the exerciſe, thoſe perſons were for the moſt part ſilent; but after any one prayer was ended, they would act and ſpeak ſtrangely and ridiculouſly; yet were ſuch as had been well educated, and of good behaviour; the one, a girl of 11 or 12 years old, would ſometimes ſeem to be in a convulſion fit, her limbs being twiſted ſeveral ways, and very ſtiff, but preſently her fit would be over.

A few days before this ſolemn day of prayer, mr. Parris's Indian man and woman made a cake of rye meal, with the children's water, and baked it in the aſhes, and, as is ſaid, gave it to the dog; this was done as a means to diſcover witchcraft; ſoon after which, thoſe ill affected or afflicted perſons named ſeveral that they ſaid they ſaw, when in their fits, afflicting them.

The firſt complained of was the ſaid Indian woman, named Tituba: ſhe confeſſed that the devil urged her to ſign a book, which he preſented to her, and alſo to work miſchief to the children, &c. She was afterwards committed to priſon, and lay there till ſold for her fees. The account ſhe ſince gives of it is, that her maſter did beat her, and otherways abuſe her, to make her confeſs and accuſe (ſuch as he called) her ſiſter-witches; and that whatſoever ſhe ſaid by

way of confeſſing, or accuſing others, was the effect of ſuch uſage: her maſter refuſed to pay her fees, unleſs ſhe would ſtand to what ſhe had ſaid.

The children complained likewiſe of two other women, to be the authors of their hurt, viz. Sarah Good, who had long been counted a *melancholy* or *diſtracted* woman; and one Oſborn, an old *bed-ridden* woman; which two were perſons ſo ill thought of, that the accuſation was the more readily believed; and, after examination before two Salem magiſtrates, were committed. *March* 9*th*, mr. Lawſon (who had been formerly a preacher at the ſaid village) came thither, and hath ſince ſet forth, in print, an account of what then paſſed; about which time, as he ſaith, they complained of goodwife Cory, and goodwife Nurſe, members of churches at the Village and at Salem, many others being by that time accuſed.

March 21. Goodwife Cory was examined before the magiſtrates of Salem, at the meeting houſe in the Village, a throng of ſpectators being preſent to ſee the novelty. Mr. Noyes, one of the miniſters of Salem, began with prayer; after which the priſoner being called, in order to anſwer to what ſhould be alledged againſt her, ſhe deſired that ſhe might go to prayer; and was anſwered by the magiſtrates, that they did not come to hear her pray, but to examine her.

The number of the afflicted were at that time about ten, viz. mrs. Pope, mrs. Putman, goodwife Bibber and goodwife Goodall, Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewes (at Thomas Putman's) and Dr. Grigg's maid, and three girls, viz. Elizabeth Parris, daughter to the miniſter, Abigail Williams, his niece, and Ann Putman; which laſt three were not only the beginners, but were alſo the chief, in theſe accuſations. Theſe ten were moſt of them preſent at the examination, and did vehemently accuſe her of afflicting them, by biting, pinching, ſtrangling, &c. and they ſaid they did in their fits ſee her likeneſs coming to them, and bringing a book for them to ſign. Mr. Hathorn, a magiſtrate of Salem, aſked her why ſhe afflicted thoſe children. She ſaid, ſhe did not afflict them. He aſked her who did then. She ſaid, I do not know, how ſhould I know? She ſaid, they were poor diſtracted creatures, and no heed ought to be given to what they ſaid. Mr. Hathorn and mr. Noyes replied that it was the judgment of all that were there preſent, that they were bewitched, and only ſhe (the accuſed) ſaid they were diſtracted. She was accuſed by them, that the *black man* whiſpered to her in her ear now (while ſhe was upon examination) and that ſhe had a yellow bird, that did uſe to ſuck between her fingers, and that the ſaid bird did ſuck now in the aſſem-

bly. Order being given to look in that place to ſee if there were any ſign, the girl that pretended to ſee it ſaid, that it was too late now, for ſhe had removed a pin, and put it on her head; it was upon ſearch found, that a pin was there ſticking upright. When the accuſed had any motion of their body, hands or mouth, the accuſers would cry out; as when ſhe bit a lip, they would cry out of being bitten; if ſhe graſped one hand with the other, they would cry out of being pinched by her, and would produce marks; ſo of the other motions of her body, as complaining of being preſt, when ſhe leaned to the ſeat next her; if ſhe ſtirred her feet, they would ſtamp, and cry out of pain there. After the hearing, the ſaid Cory was committed to Salem priſon, and then their crying out of her abated.

March 24, goodwife Nurſe * was brought before mr. Hathorn and mr. Curwin (magiſtrates)

* The folly and madneſs of the witchcraft deluſion was ſtrikingly manifeſted at the examination of goodwife Nurſe. Parris, who was taking notes at the time, informs us that the noiſe of the accuſing girls and ſpeakers was ſo great, that he could not proceed with his minutes. He has, however, given us enough of her examination to ſhow the great diſtreſs ſhe was thrown into by her falſe accuſers. Looking around the crowded meeting houſe, and not diſcovering one ſympathizing countenance, ſhe ſaid, "I have got nobody to look to but God;" and in her agony ſhe lifted her arms and ſpread out her hands, and exclaimed, "O Lord, help me!" Mr. Hathorn met this appeal to Heaven with this remark,—"It is very awful to ſee theſe agonies in an old profeſſor, charged with contracting with the devil."

in the meeting-houſe. Mr. Hale,* miniſter of Beverly, began with prayer; after which ſhe, being accuſed of much the ſame crimes, made the like anſwers, aſſerting her own innocence with earneſtneſs. The accuſers were moſtly the ſame, Thomas Putman's wife, &c.† complaining much. The dreadful ſhrieking from her and others was very amazing, which was heard at a great diſtance. She was alſo committed to priſon.

A child of Sarah Good's was likewiſe apprehended, being between 4 and 5 years old. The accuſers ſaid this child bit them, and would ſhew ſuch like marks, as thoſe of a ſmall ſet of teeth, upon their arms: as many of the afflicted as the child caſt its eye upon, would complain they were in torment: which child they alſo committed.

Concerning thoſe that had been hitherto examined and committed, it is among other things obſerved, by Mr. Lawſon (in print) that they were by the accuſers charged to belong to a company that did muſter in arms, and were reported by them to keep days of faſt, thankſ-

* Rev. John Hale, who was more connected with Salem witchcraft than has been generally ſuppoſed.

† Thomas Putman's wife, and her daughter, Ann Junr., as ſhe was called, were moſt ſeverely afflicted by witches. Thomas was for many years Pariſh Clerk, and near neighbour to Mr. Parris. Sergt. Thomas Putman, as he was ſtyled, did more to carry forward the witchcraft deluſion, than any other perſon.

giving and ſacraments; and that thoſe afflicted (or accuſers) did in the aſſembly cure each other, even with a touch of their hand, when ſtrangled and other ways tortured, and would endeavour to get to the afflicted to relieve them thereby (for hitherto they had not uſed the experiment of bringing the accuſed to touch the afflicted, in order to their cure) and could foretel one another's fit to be coming, and would ſay, look to ſuch a one, ſhe will have a fit preſently, and ſo it happened; and that at the ſame time when the accuſed perſon was preſent, the afflicted ſaid they ſaw her ſpectre or likeneſs in other places of the meeting-houſe ſucking their familiars.

The ſaid mr. Lawſon being to preach at the Village, after the pſalm was ſung, Abigail Williams ſaid, *Now ſtand up and name your text;* after it was read, ſhe ſaid, *it was a long text.* Mrs. Pope in the beginning of ſermon ſaid to him, *now there is enough of that.* In ſermon, he referring to his doctrine, Abigail Williams ſaid to him, *I know no doctrine you had; if you did name one, I have forgot it.* Ann Putman, an afflicted girl, ſaid, *there was a yellow bird ſat on his hat as it hung on the pin in the pulpit.*

March 31, 1692, was ſet apart as a day of ſolemn humiliation at Salem, upon the account of this buſineſs; on which day Abigail Williams ſaid, *that ſhe ſaw a great number of perſons in the*

Village at the adminiſtration of a mock ſacrament, where they had bread as red as raw fleſh, and red drink.

April 1. Mercy Lewis affirmed, *that ſhe ſaw a man in white, with whom ſhe went into a glorious place*, viz. in her fits, *where was no light of the ſun, much leſs of candles, yet was full of light and brightneſs, with a great multitude in white glittering robes, who ſang the ſong in Rev.* v. 9. *and the* cxlix Pſalm; *and was given that ſhe might tarry no longer in this place.* This white man is ſaid to have appeared ſeveral times to others of them, and to have given them notice how long it ſhould be before they ſhould have another fit.

April 3. Being ſacrament day at the Village, Sarah Cloyce, ſiſter to goodwife Nurſe, a member of one of the churches, was (though it ſeems with difficulty prevailed with to be) preſent; but being entered the place, and mr. Parris naming his text, *John*, vi. 70, *Have not I choſen you twelve? and one of you is a devil;* (for what cauſe may reſt as a doubt, whether upon the account of her ſiſter's being committed, or becauſe of the choice of that text) ſhe roſe up and went out; the wind ſhutting the door forcibly, gave occaſion to ſome to ſuppoſe ſhe went out in anger, and might occaſion a ſuſpicion of her; however, ſhe was ſoon after complained of, examined and committed.

April 11. By this time the number of the accuſed and accuſers being much increaſed, there was a publick examination at Salem, ſix of the magiſtrates with ſeveral miniſters being preſent. There appeared ſeveral who complained againſt others with hideous clamours and ſcreechings. Goodwife Proctor was brought thither, being accuſed or cried out againſt: her huſband coming to attend and aſſiſt her, as there might be need, the accuſers cried out of him alſo, and that with ſo much earneſtneſs, that he was committed with his wife. About this time, beſides the experiment of the afflicted falling at the ſight, &c. they put the accuſed upon ſaying the Lord's prayer, which one among them performed, except in that petition, *deliver us from evil*, ſhe expreſt it thus, *deliver us from* all *evil:* this was looked upon as if ſhe prayed againſt what ſhe was now juſtly under, and being put upon it again, and repeating thoſe words, *hallowed be thy name* ſhe expreſt it, *hollowed be thy name:* this was counted a depraving the words, as ſignifying to make void, and ſo a curſe rather than a prayer: upon the whole it was concluded that ſhe alſo could not ſay it, &c. Proceeding in this work of examination and commitment, many were ſent to priſon. As an inſtance, ſee the following mittimus.

To their Majeſties' Gaol-keeper in Salem.

You are in their majeſties' names hereby required to take into your care, and ſafe cuſtody, the bodies of William Hobs and Deborah his wife, Mary Eaſty, the wife of Iſaac Eaſty, and Sarah Wild, the wife of John Wild, all of Topsfield; and Edward Biſhop of Salem Village, huſbandman, and Sarah his wife, and Mary Black, a negro of lieutenant Nathaniel Putman, of Salem Village; alſo Mary Engliſh, the wife of Philip Engliſh, merchant, in Salem; who ſtand charged with high ſuſpicion of ſundry acts of witchcraft, done or committed by them lately upon the bodies of Ann Putman, Mary Lewis and Abigail Williams, of Salem Village; whereby great hurt and damage hath been done to the bodies of the ſaid perſons, according to the complaint of Thomas Putman and John Buxton, of Salem Village, exhibited; whom you are to ſecure in order to their further examination. — Fail not.

John Hathorn,
Jona. Curwin, } aſſiſtants.

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

To marſhal George Herrick, of Salem, Eſſex.

You are in their majeſties' names hereby required to convey the above named to the gaol at Salem. — Fail not.

John Hathorn,
Jona. Curwin, } aſſiſtants.

Dated Salem, April 22, 1692.

The occaſion of Biſhop's being cried out of, was, he being at an examination in Salem, when at the inn an afflicted Indian was very unruly, whom he undertook, and ſo managed him, that he was very orderly; after which, in riding home, in company of him and other accuſers, the Indian fell into a fit, and clapping hold with his teeth on the back of the man that rode before him, thereby held himſelf upon the horſe; but ſaid Biſhop ſtriking him with his ſtick, the Indian ſoon recovered, and promiſed he would do ſo no more; to which Biſhop replied, that he doubted not but he could cure them all, with more to the ſame effect. Immediately after he was parted from them, he was cried out of, &c.

May 14, 1692. Sir William Phips arrived with commiſſion from their majeſties to be governor, purſuant to the new charter, which he now brought with him, the ancient charter having been vacated by king Charles and king James, (by which they had a power not only to make their own laws, but alſo to chooſe their own governor and officers) and the country for ſome years was put under an abſolute commiſſion-government, till the Revolution, at which time, though more than two thirds of the people were for reaſſuming their ancient government, (to which they had encouragement by his then royal highneſs's proclamation) yet ſome that might have

been better employed (in another ſtation) made it their buſineſs (by printing, as well as speaking) to their utmoſt to divert them from ſuch a ſettlement; and ſo far prevailed, that for about ſeven weeks after the Revolution, here was not ſo much as a face of any government; but ſome few men upon their own nomination would be called a committee of ſafety; but at length the aſſembly prevailed with thoſe that had been of the government, to promiſe that they would reaſſume; and accordingly a proclamation was drawn, but before publiſhing it, it was underwritten, that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume charter-government; ſo that between government and no government, this country remained till ſir William arrived: agents being in this time empowered in England, which no doubt did not all of them act according to the minds or intereſts of thoſe that empowered them, which is manifeſt by their not acting jointly in what was done; ſo that this place is perhaps a ſingle inſtance (even in the beſt of reigns) of a charter not reſtored after ſo happy a revolution. This ſettlement by ſir William Phips's having come governor put an end to all diſputes of theſe things; and being arrived, and having read his commiſſion, the firſt thing he exerted his power in, was ſaid to be his giving orders that irons ſhould be put upon

thoſe in priſon; for though for ſome time after theſe were committed, the accuſers ceaſed to cry out of them, yet now the cry againſt them was renewed, which occaſioned ſuch order; and though there was partiality in the executing it (ſome having them taken off almoſt as ſoon as put on) yet the cry of theſe accuſers againſt ſuch, ceaſed after this order.

May 24. Mrs. Cary, of Charleſtown, was examined and committed. Her huſband, mr. Jonathan Cary, has given account thereof, as alſo of her eſcape, to this effect:

"I having heard, ſome days, that my wife was accuſed of witchcraft, being much diſturbed at it, by advice we went to Salem Village, to ſee if the afflicted knew her; we arrived there 24th May; it happened to be a day appointed for examination; accordingly, ſoon after our arrival, mr. Hathorn and mr. Curwin, &c. went to the meeting-houſe, which was the place appointed for that work; the miniſter began with prayer; and having taken care to get a convenient place, I obſerved that the afflicted were two girls of about ten years old, and about two or three others, of about eighteen; one of the girls talked moſt, and could diſcern more than the reſt. The priſoners were called in one by one, and as they came in were cried out of, &c. The priſoners were placed about ſeven or eight feet from

the juſtices, and the accuſers between the juſtices and them; the priſoners were ordered to ſtand right before the juſtices, with an officer appointed to hold each hand, leſt they ſhould therewith afflict them; and the priſoners' eyes muſt be conſtantly on the juſtices; for if they looked on the afflicted, they would either fall into their fits, or cry out of being hurt by them. After an examination of the priſoners, who it was afflicted theſe girls, &c. they were put upon ſaying the Lord's prayer, as a trial of their guilt. After the afflicted ſeemed to be out of their fits, they would look ſteadfaſtly on ſome one perſon, and frequently not ſpeak; and then the juſtices ſaid they were ſtruck dumb, and after a little time would ſpeak again; then the juſtices ſaid to the accuſers, Which of you will go and touch the priſoner at the bar? Then the moſt courageous would adventure, but before they had made three ſteps would ordinarily fall down as in a fit. The juſtices ordered that they ſhould be taken up and carried to the priſoner, that ſhe might touch them; and as ſoon as they were touched by the accuſed, the juſtices would ſay, they are well, before I could diſcern any alteration; by which I obſerved that the juſtices underſtood the manner of it. Thus far I was only as a ſpectator; my wife alſo was there part of the

time, but no notice taken of her by the afflicted, except once or twice they came to her and aſked her name.

"But I having an opportunity to diſcourſe mr. Hale (with whom I had formerly acquaintance) I took his advice what I had beſt to do, and deſired of him that I might have an opportunity to ſpeak with her that accuſed my wife; which he promiſed ſhould be, I acquainting him that I repoſed my truſt in him. Accordingly he came to me after the examination was over, and told me I had now an opportunity to ſpeak with the ſaid accuſer, viz. Abigail Williams, a girl of 11 or 12 years old; but that we could not be in private at mr. Parris's houſe, as he had promiſed me; we went therefore into the alehouſe, where an Indian man attended us, who it ſeems was one of the afflicted: to him we gave ſome cider: he ſhewed ſeveral ſcars, that ſeemed as if they had been long there, and ſhewed them as done by witchcraft, and acquainted us that his wife, who alſo was a ſlave, was impriſoned for witchcraft. And now, inſtead of one accuſer, they all came in, and began to tumble down like ſwine; and then three women were called in to attend them. We in the room were all at a ſtand, to ſee who they would cry out of; but in a ſhort time they cried out, Cary; and imme-

diately after a warrant was ſent from the juſtices to bring my wife before them, who were ſitting in a chamber near by, waiting for this.

"Being brought before the juſtices, her chief accuſers were two girls. My wife declared to the juſtices, that ſhe never had any knowledge of them before that day. She was forced to ſtand with her arms ſtretched out. I requeſted that I might hold one of her hands, but it was denied me; then ſhe deſired me to wipe the tears from her eyes, and the ſweat from her face, which I did; then ſhe deſired ſhe might lean herſelf on me, ſaying ſhe ſhould faint.

"Juſtice Hathorn replied, ſhe had ſtrength enough to torment thoſe perſons, and ſhe ſhould have ſtrength enough to ſtand. I ſpeaking ſomething againſt their cruel proceedings, they commanded me to be ſilent, or elſe I ſhould be turned out of the room. The Indian before mentioned was alſo brought in, to be one of her accuſers: being come in, he now (when before the juſtices) fell down and tumbled about like a hog, but ſaid nothing. The juſtices aſked the girls who afflicted the Indian; they anſwered, ſhe, (meaning my wife) and that ſhe now lay upon him; the juſtices ordered her to touch him, in order to his cure, but her head muſt be turned another way, leſt, inſtead of curing, ſhe ſhould make him worſe, by her looking on him,

her hand being guided to take hold of his; but the Indian took hold of her hand, and pulled her down on the floor, in a barbarous manner; then his hand was taken off, and her hand put on his, and the cure was quickly wrought. I, being extremely troubled at their inhuman dealings, uttered a haſty ſpeech, *That God would take vengeance on them, and deſired that God would deliver us out of the hands of unmerciful men.* Then her mittimus was writ. I did with difficulty and charge obtain the liberty of a room, but no beds in it; if there had been, could have taken but little reſt that night. She was committed to Boſton priſon; but I obtained a habeas corpus to remove her to Cambridge priſon, which is in our county of Middleſex. Having been there one night, next morning the jailer put irons on her legs (having received ſuch a command;) the weight of them was about eight pounds: theſe irons and her other afflictions ſoon brought her into convulſion fits, ſo that I thought ſhe would have died that night. I ſent to entreat that the irons might be taken off; but all entreaties were in vain, if it would have ſaved her life, ſo that in this condition ſhe muſt continue. The trials at Salem coming on, I went thither, to ſee how things were managed; and finding that the ſpectre evidence was there received, together with idle, if not malicious

ſtories, againſt people's lives, I did eaſily perceive which way the reſt would go; for the ſame evidence that ſerved for one, would ſerve for all the reſt. I acquainted her with her danger; and that if ſhe were carried to Salem to be tried, I feared ſhe would never return. I did my utmoſt that ſhe might have her trial in our own county, I with ſeveral others petitioning the judge for it, and were put in hopes of it; but I ſoon ſaw ſo much, that I underſtood thereby it was not intended, which put me upon conſulting the means of her eſcape; which through the goodneſs of God was effected, and ſhe got to Rhode-Iſland, but ſoon found herſelf not ſafe when there, by reaſon of the purſuit after her; from thence ſhe went to New-York, along with ſome others that had eſcaped their cruel hands; where we found his excellency Benjamin Fletcher, eſq. governor, who was very courteous to us. After this, ſome of my goods were ſeized in a friend's hands, with whom I had left them, and myſelf impriſoned by the ſheriff, and kept in cuſtody half a day, and then diſmiſſed; but to ſpeak of their uſage of the priſoners, and the inhumanity ſhewn to them at the time of their execution, no ſober chriſtian could bear. They had alſo trials of cruel mockings; which is the more, conſidering what a people for religion, I mean the profeſſion

of it, we have been; thoſe that ſuffered being many of them church members, and moſt of them unſpotted in their converſation, till their adverſary the devil took up this method for accuſing them. Per JONATHAN CARY."

May 31. Capt. John Aldin was examined in Salem, and committed to Boſton priſon. The priſon-keeper, ſeeing ſuch a man committed, of whom he had a good eſteem, was after this the more compaſſionate to thoſe that were in priſon on the like account; and refrained from ſuch hard things to the priſoners, as before he had uſed. Mr. Aldin himſelf has given an account of his examination, in theſe words:

An account how John Aldin, ſenior, was dealt with at Salem Village.

John Aldin, ſenior, of Boſton, in the county of Suffolk, mariner, on the 28th day of May, 1692, was ſent for by the magiſtrates of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, upon the accuſation of a company of poor diſtracted or poſſeſſed creatures or witches; and being ſent by mr. Stoughton, arrived there the 31ſt of May, and appeared at Salem Village, before mr. Gidney, mr. Hathorn and mr. Curwin.

Thoſe wenches being preſent, who played their juggling tricks, falling down, crying out,

and ſtaring in people's faces; the magiſtrates demanded of them ſeveral times, who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them: one of theſe accuſers pointed ſeveral times at one captain Hill, there preſent, but ſpake nothing; the ſame accuſer had a man ſtanding at her back to hold her up; he ſtooped down to her ear, then ſhe cried out, Aldin, Aldin afflicted her; one of the magiſtrates aſked her if ſhe had ever ſeen Aldin, ſhe anſwered no; he aſked how ſhe knew it was Aldin; ſhe ſaid the man told her ſo.

Then all were ordered to go down into the ſtreet, where a ring was made; and the ſame accuſer cried out, There ſtands Aldin, a bold fellow, with his hat on before the judges; he ſells powder and ſhot to the Indians and French, and lies with the Indian ſquaws, and has Indian papooſes. Then was Aldin committed to the marſhal's cuſtody, and his ſword taken from him; for they ſaid he afflicted them with his ſword. After ſome hours Aldin was ſent for to the meeting-houſe in the Village, before the magiſtrates; who required Aldin to ſtand upon a chair, to the open view of all the people.

The accuſers cried out that Aldin pinched them, then, when he ſtood upon the chair, in th ſight of all the people, a good way diſtant from them. One of the magiſtrates bid the marſhal to hold open Aldin's hands, that he might not

pinch thoſe creatures. Aldin aſked them why they ſhould think that he ſhould come to that Village to afflict thoſe perſons that he never knew or ſaw before. Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confeſs, and give glory to God. Aldin ſaid, he hoped he ſhould give glory to God, and hoped he ſhould never gratify the devil; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever ſuſpected him to be ſuch a perſon, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their own knowledge, that might give ſuſpicion of his being ſuch an one. Mr. Gidney ſaid he had known Aldin many years, and had been at ſea with him, and always looked upon him to be an honeſt man, but now he ſaw cauſe to alter his judgment. Aldin anſwered, he was ſorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his innocency, that he would recal that judgment again; and added, that he hoped that he ſhould with Job maintain his integrity till he died. They bid Aldin look upon the accuſers, which he did, and then they fell down. Aldin aſked mr. Gidney what reaſon there could be given, why Aldin's looking upon *him* did not ſtrike *him* down as well; but no reaſon was given that I heard. But the accuſers were brought to Aldin to touch them, and this touch they ſaid made them well. Aldin began to ſpeak of the providence of God, in ſuffering theſe creatures

to accuſe innocent perſons. Mr. Noyes aſked Aldin why he would offer to ſpeak of the providence of God: God by his providence (ſaid mr. Noyes) governs the world, and keeps it in peace; and ſo went on with diſcourſe, and ſtopt Aldin's mouth as to that. Aldin told mr. Gidney, that he could aſſure him that there was a lying ſpirit in them, for I can aſſure you that there is not a word of truth in all theſe ſay of me. But Aldin was again committed to the marſhal, and his mittimus written, which was as follows:

To mr. John Arnold, keeper of the priſon in Boſton, in the county of Suffolk.

Whereas captain John Aldin, of Boſton, mariner, and Sarah Rice, wife of Nicholas Rice, of Reading, huſbandman, have been this day brought before us, John Hathorn and Jonathan Curwin, eſquires; being accuſed and ſuſpected of perpetrating divers acts of witchcraft, contrary to the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided: theſe are therefore, in their majeſties king William and queen Mary's names, to will and require you to take into your cuſtody the bodies of the ſaid John Aldin and Sarah Rice, and them ſafely keep, until they ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law, as you will anſwer the contrary at your peril; and this ſhall be

your ſufficient warrant. Given under our hands at Salem Village, the 31ſt of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady, William and Mary, now king and queen over England, &c. Anno Domini 1692.

John Hathorn, } aſſiſtants.
Jona. Curwin, }

To Boſton, Aldin was carried by a conſtable; no bail would be taken for him; but was delivered to the priſon-keeper, where he remained fifteen weeks; and then, obſerving the manner of trials, and evidence then taken, was at length prevailed with to make his eſcape, and being returned, was bound over to anſwer at the ſuperior court at Boſton, the laſt Tueſday in April, anno 1693; and was there cleared by proclamation, none appearing againſt him.

Per JOHN ALDEN.

At the examination, and at other times, it was uſual for the accuſers to tell of the black man, or of a ſpectre, as being then on the table, &c. The people about would ſtrike with ſwords, or ſticks, at thoſe places. One juſtice broke his cane at this exerciſe; and ſometimes the accuſers would ſay, they ſtruck the ſpectre, and it is reported ſeveral of the accuſed were hurt and wounded thereby, though at home at the ſame time.

The juſtices proceeding in theſe works of examination and commitment to the end of May, there were by that time about a hundred perſons impriſoned upon that account.

June 2. A ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer having been iſſued out, to mr. Stoughton, the new lieutenant governor, major Saltonſtall, major Richards, major Gidney, mr. Wait Winthrop, captain Sewall, and mr. Sergeant, a quorum of whom ſat at Salem this day, where the moſt that was done this week was the trial of one Biſhop,* alias Oliver, of Salem; who had long undergone the repute of a witch, occaſioned by the accuſations of one Samuel Gray; he, about twenty years ſince, having charged her with ſuch crimes; and though upon his deathbed he teſtified his ſorrow and repentance for ſuch accuſations, as being wholly groundleſs, yet the report, taken up by his means, continued, and ſhe being accuſed by thoſe afflicted, and upon ſearch a teat, as they call it, being found, ſhe was brought in guilty by the jury; ſhe received her ſentence of death, and was executed June 10, but made not the

* Bridget Biſhop kept a ſmall beer-ſhop on the old Ipſwich road, at Danvers Plains, where Meſſrs. Perley & Currier's ſtore now ſtands. Rev. John Hale, of Beverly, in his depoſition, given on the 20th of May, 1692, ſays that he was informed by the wife of John Traſk, that Bridget entertained people in her houſe at night, in drinking and playing ſhovel-board.

leaſt confeſſion of anything relating to witchcraft.

June 15. Several miniſters in and near Boſton, having been to that end conſulted by his excellency, expreſt their minds to this effect, viz.

That they were affected with the deplorable ſtate of the afflicted; that they were thankful for the diligent care of the rulers to detect the abominable witchcrafts which have been committed in the country, praying for a perfect diſcovery thereof; but adviſed to a cautious proceeding, leſt many evils enſue, &c. and that tenderneſs be uſed towards thoſe accuſed, relating to matters preſumptive and convictive, and alſo to privacy in examinations; and to conſult mr. Perkins and mr. Bernard what teſts to make uſe of in the ſcrutiny: that preſumptions and convictions ought to have better grounds than the accuſers affirming that they ſee ſuch perſons' ſpectres afflicting them; and that the devil may afflict in the ſhape of good men; and that falling at the ſight, and riſing at the touch, of the accuſed, is no infallible proof of guilt; that ſeeing the devil's ſtrength conſiſts in ſuch accuſations, our diſbelieving them may be a means to put a period to the dreadful calamities. Nevertheleſs they humbly recommend to the government, the ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution of ſuch as have rendered themſelves obnoxious, according

to the direction given in the laws of God, and the wholeſome ſtatutes of the Engliſh nation, for the detection of witchcraft.

This is briefly the ſubſtance of what may be ſeen more at large in *Caſes of Conſcience.* (*ult.*) And one of them ſince taking occaſion to repeat ſome part of this advice, (*Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 83) declares (notwithſtanding the diſſatisfaction of others) that if his ſaid book may conduce to promote thankfulneſs to God for ſuch executions, he ſhall rejoice, &c.

The 30th of June, the court according to adjournment again ſat; five more were tried, viz. Sarah Good and Rebecca Nurſe, of Salem Village; Suſanna Martin, of Amſbury; Elizabeth How of Ipſwich; and Sarah Wildes of Topsfield: theſe were all condemned that ſeſſion, and were all executed on the 19th of July.

At the trial of Sarah Good, one of the afflicted fell in a fit; and after coming out of it ſhe cried out of the priſoner, for ſtabbing her in the breaſt with a knife, and that ſhe had broken the knife in ſtabbing of her; accordingly a piece of the blade of a knife was found about her. Immediately information being given to the court, a young man was called, who produced a haft and part of the blade, which the court having viewed and compared, ſaw it to be the ſame; and upon inquiry the young man affirmed, that yeſ-

terday he happened to break that knife, and that he caſt away the upper part. This afflicted perſon being then preſent, the young man was diſmiſſed, and ſhe was bidden by the court not to tell lies; and was improved after (as ſhe had been before) to give evidence againſt the priſoners.

At the execution, mr. Noyes urged Sarah Good to confeſs, and told her ſhe was a witch, and ſhe knew ſhe was a witch; to which ſhe replied, you are a liar; I am no more a witch than you are a wizard; and if you take away my life, God will give you blood to drink.

At the trial of Rebecca Nurſe, it was remarkable that the jury brought in their verdict not guilty; immediately all the accuſers in the court, and ſuddenly after all the afflicted out of court, made an hideous outcry, to the amazement not only of the ſpectators, but the court alſo ſeemed ſtrangely ſurpriſed: one of the judges expreſt himſelf not ſatisfied; another of them, as he was going off the bench, ſaid they would have her indicted anew. The chief judge ſaid he would not impoſe upon the jury; but intimated as if they had not well conſidered one expreſſion of the priſoner when ſhe was upon trial, viz. that when one Hobbs, who had confeſſed herſelf to be a witch, was brought into the court to witneſs againſt her, the priſoner, turning her head

to her, ſaid, *What, do you bring her? ſhe is one of us*, or to that effect; this, together with the clamours of the accuſers, induced the jury to go out again, after their verdict, not guilty. But not agreeing, they came into the court; and ſhe being then at the bar, her words were repeated to her, in order to have her explanation of them; and ſhe making no reply to them, they found the bill, and brought her in guilty; theſe words being the inducement to it, as the foreman has ſignified in writing, as follows:

July 4, 1692. I, Thomas Fiſk, the ſubſcriber hereof, being one of them that were of the jury laſt week at Salem court, upon the trial of Rebecca Nurſe, &c.* being deſired by ſome of the relations to give a reaſon why the jury brought her in guilty, after her verdict not guilty; I do hereby give my reaſons to be as follows, viz.

When the verdict was, not guilty, the honoured court was pleaſed to object againſt it, ſaying to them, that they think they let ſlip the words which the priſoner at the bar ſpake againſt herſelf, which were ſpoken in reply to goodwife Hobbs and her daughter, who had been faulty in ſetting their hands to the devil's book, as they

* A moſt eſtimable and intelligent woman, who, with her amiable and excellent ſiſter, Mary Eſty, of Topsfield, were executed. — Their ſiſter, Mary Cloyce, eſcaped with impriſonment.

had confeſſed formerly; the words were, *What, do theſe perſons give in evidence again me now? they uſed to come among us.* After the honoured court had manifeſted their diſſatisfaction of the verdict, ſeveral of the jury declared themſelves deſirous to go out again, and thereupon the court gave leave; but when we came to conſider of the caſe, I could not tell how to take her words as an evidence againſt her, till ſhe had a further opportunity to put her ſenſe upon them, if ſhe would take it; and then, going into court, I mentioned the words aforeſaid, which by one of the court were affirmed to have been ſpoken by her, ſhe being then at the bar, but made no reply, nor interpretation of them; whereupon theſe words were to me a principal evidence againſt her. THOMAS FISK.

When goodwife Nurſe was informed what uſe was made of theſe words, ſhe put in this following declaration into the court:

Theſe preſents do humbly ſhew to the honoured court and jury, that I being informed that the jury brought me in guilty, upon my ſaying that goodwife Hobbs and her daughter were of our company; but I intended no otherways, than as they were priſoners with us, and therefore did then, and yet do, judge them not legal evi-

dence againſt their fellow priſoners. And I being ſomething hard of hearing, and full of grief, none informing me how the court took up my words, and therefore had no opportunity to declare what I intended, when I ſaid they were of our company. REBECCA NURSE.

After her condemnation ſhe was by one of the miniſters of Salem excommunicated; yet the governor ſaw cauſe to grant a reprieve; which when known (and ſome ſay immediately upon granting) the accuſers renewed their diſmal outcries againſt her, inſomuch that the governor was by ſome Salem gentlemen prevailed with to recall the reprieve, and ſhe was executed with the reſt.

The teſtimonials of her chriſtian behaviour, both in the courſe of her life and at her death, and her extraordinary care in educating her children, and ſetting them good examples, &c. under the hands of ſo many, are ſo numerous, that for brevity they are here omitted.

It was at the trial of theſe that one of the accuſers cried out publicly of mr. Willard, miniſter in Boſton, as afflicting of her: ſhe was ſent out of the court, and it was told about ſhe was miſtaken in the perſon.

Auguſt 5, the court again ſitting, ſix more were tried on the ſame account, viz. mr. George Bur-

roughs, ſometime miniſter of Wells, John Proctor, and Elizabeth Proctor his wife, with John Willard, of Salem Village, George Jacobs ſenior, of Salem, and Martha Carrier, of Andover; theſe were all brought in guilty, and condemned; and were all executed, *Auguſt* 19, except Proctor's wife, who pleaded pregnancy.

Mr. Burroughs was carried in a cart with the others, through the ſtreets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder, he made a ſpeech for the clearing of his innocency, with ſuch ſolemn and ſerious expreſſions, as were to the admiration of all preſent: his prayer (which he concluded by repeating the Lord's prayer) was ſo well worded, and uttered with ſuch compoſedneſs, and ſuch (at leaſt ſeeming) fervency of ſpirit, as was very affecting, and drew tears from many, ſo that it ſeemed to ſome that the ſpectators would hinder the execution. The accuſers ſaid the black man ſtood and dictated to him. As ſoon as he was turned off, mr. Cotton Mather, being mounted upon a horſe, addreſſed himſelf to the people, partly to declare that he [Burroughs] was no ordained miniſter, and partly to poſſeſs the people of his guilt, ſaying that the devil has often been transformed into an angel of light; and this ſomewhat appeaſed the people, and the executions went on. When he was cut down, he was dragged by the halter to a

hole, or grave, between the rocks, about two feet deep, his ſhirt and breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of trowſers of one executed put on his lower parts; he was ſo put in, together with Willard and Carrier, that one of his hands and his chin, and a foot of one of them, were left uncovered.

John Willard had been employed to fetch in ſeveral that were accuſed; but taking diſſatisfaction from his being ſent to fetch up ſome that he had better thoughts of, he declined the ſervice; and preſently after he himſelf was accuſed of the ſame crime, and that with ſuch vehemency, that they ſent after him to apprehend him. He had made his eſcape as far as Naſhawag, about forty miles from Salem; yet it is ſaid thoſe accuſers did then preſently tell the exact time, ſaying, Now Willard is taken.

John Proctor * and his wife being in priſon, the ſheriff came to his houſe and ſeized all the goods, proviſions and cattle that he could come at, and ſold ſome of the cattle at half price, and killed others, and put them up for the Weſt-Indies; threw out the beer out of a barrel, and carried away the barrel; emptied a pot of broth,

* John Proctor was a reſpectable farmer; and great efforts were made by his friends, not only at Salem Village, but alſo at Ipſwich, his native town, to ſave his life; but they were unſucceſsful. A copy of his will, made during his impriſonment and while under ſentence of death, is in the Probate-Court Records at Salem.

and took away the pot, and left nothing in the houſe for the ſupport of the children. No part of the ſaid goods are known to be returned. Proctor earneſtly requeſted mr. Noyes to pray with and for him; but it was wholly denied, becauſe he would not own himſelf to be a witch.

During his impriſonment he ſent the following letter, in behalf of himſelf and others.

Salem Priſon, July 23, 1692.

MR. MATHER, MR. ALLEN, MR. MOODY, MR. WILLARD, and MR. BAILY.

Reverend Gentlemen,

The innocency of our caſe, with the enmity of our accuſers and our judges and jury, whom nothing but our innocent blood will ſerve, having condemned us already before our trials, being ſo much incenſed and enraged againſt us by the devil, makes us bold to beg and implore your favourable aſſiſtance of this our humble petition to his excellency, that if it be poſſible our innocent blood may be ſpared, which undoubtedly otherwiſe will be ſhed, if the Lord doth not mercifully ſtep in; the magiſtrates, miniſters, juries, and all the people in general, being ſo much enraged and incenſed againſt us by the deluſion of the devil, which we can term no other, by reaſon we know in our own conſciences

we are all innocent perſons. Here are five perſons who have lately confeſſed themſelves to be witches, and do accuſe ſome of us of being along with them at a ſacrament, ſince we were committed into cloſe priſon, which we know to be lies. Two of the five are (Carrier's ſons) young men, who would not confeſs any thing till they tied them neck and heels, till the blood was ready to come out of their noſes; and it is credibly believed and reported this was the occaſion of making them confeſs what they never did, by reaſon they ſaid one had been a witch a month, and another five weeks, and that their mother had made them ſo, who has been confined here this nine weeks. My ſon William Proctor, when he was examined, becauſe he would not confeſs that he was guilty, when he was innocent, they tied him neck and heels till the blood guſhed out at his noſe, and would have kept him ſo twenty-four hours, if one, more merciful than the reſt, had not taken pity on him, and cauſed him to be unbound. Theſe actions are very like the popiſh cruelties. They have already undone us in our eſtates, and that will not ſerve their turns without our innocent blood. If it cannot be granted that we can have our trials at Boſton, we humbly beg that you would endeavour to have theſe magiſtrates changed, and others in their rooms; begging

alſo and beſeeching you would be pleaſed to be here, if not all, ſome of you, at our trials, hoping thereby you may be the means of ſaving the ſhedding of our innocent blood. Deſiring your prayers to the Lord in our behalf, we reſt your poor afflicted ſervants. JOHN PROCTOR, &c.

He pleaded very hard at execution for a little reſpite of time, ſaying that he was not fit to die; but it was not granted.

Old Jacobs * being condemned, the ſheriff and officers came and ſeized all he had; his wife had her wedding ring taken from her, but with great difficulty obtained it again. She was forced to buy proviſions of the ſheriff, ſuch as he had taken, towards her own ſupport, which not being ſufficient, the neighbours in charity relieved her.

Margaret Jacobs being one that had confeſſed her own guilt, and teſtified againſt her grandfather Jacobs, mr. Burroughs and John Willard, ſhe the day before execution came to mr. Burroughs, acknowledging that ſhe had belied them, and begged mr. Burroughs's forgiveneſs; who not only forgave her, but alſo prayed with and for her. She wrote the following letter to her father:

* George Jacobs, Sen., after his execution, was buried on his farm, at Danvers Port, where his grave is to be ſeen at this day.

From the dungeon in Salem priſon, Aug. 20, 1692.

Honoured Father,

After my humble duty remembered to you, hoping in the Lord of your good health, as bleſſed be God I enjoy, though in abundance of affliction, being cloſe confined here in a loathſome dungeon; the Lord look down in mercy upon me, not knowing how ſoon I ſhall be put to death, by means of the afflicted perſons; my grandfather having ſuffered already, and all his eſtate ſeized for the king. The reaſon of my confinement is this: I having, through the magiſtrates' threatenings, and my own vile and wretched heart, confeſſed ſeveral things contrary to my conſcience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own ſoul, (the Lord pardon me for it); but oh! the terrors of a wounded conſcience who can bear? But bleſſed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my ſins, but in mercy, I hope to my ſoul, would not ſuffer me to keep it in any longer, but I was forced to confeſs the truth of all before the magiſtrates, who would not believe me; but 'tis their pleaſure to put me in here, and God knows how ſoon I ſhall be put to death. Dear father, let me beg your prayers to the Lord on my behalf, and ſend us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven. My mother, poor woman, is very crazy, and remembers her

kind love to you, and to uncle, viz. D. A. So leaving you to the protection of the Lord, I reſt your dutiful daughter,

MARGARET JACOBS.

At the time appointed for her trial, ſhe had an impoſthume in her head, which was her eſcape.

September 9, ſix more were tried, and received ſentence of death, viz. Martha Cory, of Salem Village; Mary Eaſty, of Topsfield; Alice Parker and Ann Pudeater, of Salem; Dorcas Hoar, of Beverly, and Mary Bradberry, of Saliſbury. Sept. 16, Giles Cory was preſt to death.

September 17, nine more received ſentence of death, viz. Margaret Scot, of Rowley; goodwife Reed, of Marblehead; Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker, of Andover; alſo Abigail Falkner, of Andover, who pleaded pregnancy; Rebecca Eames, of Boxford, Mary Lacy and Ann Foſter, of Andover, and Abigail Hobbs, of Topsfield. Of theſe, eight were executed, Sept. 22, viz. Martha Cory, Mary Eaſty, Alice Parker, Ann Pudeater, Margaret Scot, William Reed, Samuel Wardwell and Mary Parker.

Giles Cory * pleaded not guilty to his indict-

* Giles Cory was executed Sept. 19th, 1692, about noon. The day following, Sergt. Thomas Putman, of Salem Village, ſent a letter to Judge Sewall, informing him of a revelation from his daughter Ann, wherein a ſpectre revealed to her the fact that Giles

ment, but would not put himſelf on trial by the jury (they having cleared none upon trial) and knowing there would be the ſame witneſſes againſt him, rather choſe to undergo what death they would put him to. In preſſing, his tongue being preſt out of his mouth, the ſheriff with his cane forced it in again when he was dying.

Cory, ſome ſeventeen years before, was ſuſpected of cauſing the death of a man in his employ. The coroner's jury, which ſat upon the body, rendered a verdict of murder, by bruiſing, — he having, as they expreſſed it, "clodders of blood about the heart." We may ſuppoſe that the remembrance of this occurrence may have prejudiced the minds of many againſt Cory, although there was not a particle of evidence that he cauſed, or was knowing to, the death of the man in his employ, and living in his houſe. The courts took no notice of the affair, and it was generally forgotten, until recalled by his proſecution for witchcraft. The ſtory of the murder ſeems to have been uſed at the time to palliate the dreadful deed of preſſing him to death, by inducing the public to believe that he ſuffered a juſt puniſhment, in conſequence of his having, ſeventeen years before, preſſed a man to death with his feet.

It is generally ſuppoſed, and we think correctly, that Giles Cory, ſeeing that no one eſcaped, and that a trial was but a farce, refuſed to plead. But Ann Putman informs us, that the ghoſt of the man, whom it was ſaid Cory murdered, appeared to her the night before his execution, and told her that when goodman Cory made his witch-covenant, the devil ſtipulated with him, and gave him aſſurance, that he ſhould never be hanged, let what would come; but was careful not to tell him he ſhould be preſſed to death. The ghoſt in the winding ſheet further informed Ann, that Cory's heart was hardened that he ſhould not hearken to the importunity of the court to plead either guilty or not guilty, ſo that he might at leaſt die a more eaſy death than by preſſing — Becauſe, continued the ſpectre, it muſt be done to *him* as he has done to *me*, the ghoſt of the murdered man!

He was the firſt in New-England that was ever preſt to death.

The cart, going to the hill with theſe eight to execution, was for ſome time at a ſet; the afflicted and others ſaid that the devil hindered it, &c.

Martha Cory, wife to Giles Cory, proteſting her innocency, concluded her life with an eminent prayer upon the ladder.

Wardwell, having formerly confeſſed himſelf guilty, and after denied it, was ſoon brought upon his trial; his former confeſſion and ſpectre teſtimony was all that appeared againſt him. At execution, while he was ſpeaking to the people, proteſting his innocency, the executioner being at the ſame time ſmoking tobacco, the ſmoke coming in his face interrupted his diſcourſe; thoſe accuſers ſaid that the devil did hinder him with ſmoke.

Mary Eaſty, ſiſter alſo to Rebecca Nurſe, when ſhe took her laſt farewell of her huſband, children and friends, was, as is reported by them preſent, as ſerious, religious, diſtinct and affectionate as could well be expreſt, drawing tears from the eyes of almoſt all preſent. It ſeems, beſides the teſtimony of the accuſers and confeſſors, another proof, as it was counted, appeared againſt her: it having been uſual to ſearch the accuſed for teats, upon ſome parts of her body,

not here to be named, was found an excreſcence, which they called a teat. Before her death ſhe preſented the following petition:

"To the honourable judge and bench now ſitting in judicature in Salem, and the reverend miniſters, humbly ſheweth, That whereas your humble poor petitioner, being condemned to die, doth humbly beg of you to take it into your judicious and pious conſideration, that your poor and humble petitioner, knowing my own innocency (bleſſed be the Lord for it) and ſeeing plainly the wiles and ſubtilty of my accuſers, by myſelf, cannot but judge charitably of others, that are going the ſame way with myſelf, if the Lord ſtep not mightily in. I was confined a whole month on the ſame account that I am now condemned, and then cleared by the afflicted perſons, as ſome of your honours know; and in two days time I was cried out upon by them again, and have been confined, and now am condemned to die. The Lord above knows my innocence then, and likewiſe doth now, as at the great day will be known by men and angels. I petition to your honours not for my own life, for I know I muſt die, and my appointed time is ſet; but the Lord he knows if it be poſſible that no more innocent blood be ſhed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and courſe

you go in. I queſtion not but your honours do to the utmoſt of your powers, in the diſcovery and detecting of witchcraft and witches, and would not be guilty of innocent blood for the world; but by my own innocency I know you are in the wrong way. The Lord in his infinite mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his bleſſed will, that innocent blood be not ſhed. I would humbly beg of you that your honours would be pleaſed to examine ſome of thoſe confeſſing witches, I being confident there are ſeveral of them have belied themſelves and others, as will appear, if not in this world, I am ſure in the world to come, whither I am going; and I queſtion not but yourſelves will ſee an alteration in theſe things. They ſay, myſelf and others have made a league with the devil; we cannot confeſs; I know and the Lord knows (as will ſhortly appear) they belie me, and ſo I queſtion not but they do others; the Lord alone, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, knows, as I ſhall anſwer it at the tribunal ſeat, that I know not the leaſt thing of witchcraft, therefore I cannot, I durſt not, belie my own ſoul. I beg your honours not to deny this my humble petition, from a poor, dying, innocent perſon, and I queſtion not but the Lord will give a bleſſing to your endeavours.

MARY EASTY."

After execution, mr. Noyes, turning him to the bodies, ſaid, What a ſad thing it is to ſee eight firebrands of hell hanging there!

In October, 1692, one of Wenham complained of mrs. Hale, whoſe huſband, the miniſter of Beverly, had been very forward in theſe proſecutions; but being fully ſatisfied of his wife's ſincere chriſtianity cauſed him to alter his judgment; for it was come to a ſtated controverſy, among the New-England divines, whether the devil could afflict in a good man's ſhape; it ſeems nothing elſe could convince him, yet when it came ſo near to himſelf he was ſoon convinced, that the devil might ſo afflict. Which ſame reaſon did afterwards prevail with many others, and much influenced to the ſucceeding change at trials.

October 7. Edward Biſhop and his wife having made their eſcape out of priſon, this day mr. Corwin, the ſheriff, came and ſeized his goods and chattels, and had it not been for his ſecond ſon (who borrowed ten pound and gave it him) they had been wholly loſt. The receipt follows; but it ſeems they muſt be content with ſuch a receipt as he would give them:

Received, this 7th day of October, 1692, of Samuel Biſhop, of the town of Salem, of the county of Eſſex, in New-England, cordwainer, in full ſatisfaction, a valuable ſum of money, for the goods and chattels of Edward Biſhop, ſenior, of the town and county

aforeſaid, huſbandman; which goods and chattels being ſeized, for that the ſaid Edward Biſhop, and Sarah his wife, having been committed for witchcraft and felony, have made their eſcape; and their goods and chattels were forfeited unto their majeſties, and now being in poſſeſſion of the ſaid Samuel Biſhop; and in behalf of their majeſties, I do hereby diſcharge the ſaid goods and chattels, the day and year above written, as witneſs my hand,

GEORGE CORWIN, *Sheriff.*

But before this, the ſaid Biſhop's eldeſt ſon having married into that family of the Putmans, who were chief proſecutors in this buſineſs, he holding a cow to be branded leſt it ſhould be ſeized, and having a puſh or boil upon his thigh, with his ſtraining it broke; this is that that was pretended to be burnt with the ſaid brand, and is one of the bones thrown to the dogmatical to pick, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, p. 143. The other, of a corner of a ſheet, pretended to be taken from a ſpectre; it is known that it was provided the day before by that afflicted perſon; and the third bone of a ſpindle is almoſt as eaſily provided, as the piece of the knife; ſo that Apollo needs not herein be conſulted, &c.

Mr. Philip Engliſh, and his wife, having made their eſcape out of priſon, mr. Corwin, the ſheriff, ſeized his eſtate, to the value of about fifteen hundred pound, which was wholly loſt to him, except about three hundred pound value (which was afterward reſtored.)

After goodwife Hoar was condemned, her

eſtate was ſeized, and was alſo bought again for eight pound.

George Jacobs, ſon to old Jacobs, being accuſed, he fled; then the officers came to his houſe; his wife was a woman crazy in her ſenſes, and had been ſo ſeveral years. She it ſeems had been alſo accuſed. There were in the houſe with her only four ſmall children, and one of them ſucked her eldeſt daughter, being in priſon: the officer perſuaded her out of the houſe, to go along with him, telling her ſhe ſhould ſpeedily return; the children ran a great way after her, crying.

When ſhe came where the afflicted were, being aſked, they ſaid they did not know her; at length one ſaid, Don't you know *Jacobs*, the old witch? and then they cried out of her, and fell down in their fits. She was ſent to priſon, and lay there ten months; the neighbours of pity took care of the children to preſerve them from periſhing.

About this time a new ſcene was begun; one Joſeph Ballard, of Andover, whoſe wife was ill, (and after died of a fever) ſent to Salem for ſome of thoſe accuſers, to tell him who afflicted his wife; others did the like: horſe and man were ſent from ſeveral places to fetch thoſe accuſers who had the ſpectral ſight, that they might thereby tell who afflicted thoſe that were any ways ill.

When theſe came into any place where ſuch were, uſually they fell into a fit: after which, being aſked who it was that afflicted the perſon, they would, for the moſt part, name one who they ſaid ſat on the head, and another that ſat on the lower parts, of the afflicted. Soon after Ballard's ſending (as above) more than fifty of the people of Andover were complained of, for afflicting their neighbours. Here it was that many accuſed themſelves of riding upon poles through the air; many parents believing their children to be witches, and many huſbands their wives, &c. When theſe accuſers came to the houſe of any upon ſuch account, it was ordinary for other young people to be taken in fits, and to have the ſame ſpectral ſight.

Mr. Dudley Bradſtreet, a juſtice of peace in Andover, having granted out warrants againſt and committed, thirty or forty to priſon, for the ſuppoſed witchcrafts, at length ſaw cauſe to forbear granting out any more warrants. Soon after which, he and his wife were cried out of; himſelf was (by them) ſaid to have killed nine perſons by witchcraft, and he found it his ſafeſt courſe to make his eſcape.

A dog being afflicted at Salem Village, thoſe that had the ſpectral ſight being ſent for, they accuſed mr. John Bradſtreet, (brother to the juſtice,) that he afflicted the ſaid dog, and now

rid upon him. He made his eſcape into Piſcatuqua government, and the dog was put to death, and was all of the afflicted that ſuffered death.

At Andover, the afflicted complained of a dog, as afflicting them, and would fall into their fits at the dog's looking upon them; the dog was put to death.

A worthy gentleman of Boſton being about this time accuſed by thoſe at Andover, he ſent by ſome particular friends a writ to arreſt thoſe accuſers in a thouſand pound action for defamation, with inſtructions to them to inform themſelves of the certainty of the proof, in doing which their buſineſs was perceived, and from thenceforward the accuſations at Andover generally ceaſed.

In October ſome of theſe accuſers were ſent for to Glouceſter, and occaſioned four women to be ſent to priſon; but Salem priſon being ſo full it could receive no more, two were ſent to Ipſwich priſon. In November they were ſent for again by lieutenant Stephens, who was told that a ſiſter of his was bewitched; in their way, paſſing over Ipſwich-bridge, they met with an old woman, and inſtantly fell into their fits. But by this time the validity of ſuch accuſations being much queſtioned, they found not that encouragement they had done elſewhere, and ſoon withdrew.

Theſe accuſers ſwore that they ſaw three perſons ſitting upon lieutenant Stephens's ſiſter till ſhe died; yet bond was accepted for thoſe three.

And now nineteen perſons having been hanged, and one preſt to death, and eight more condemned, in all twenty-eight, of which above a third part were members of ſome of the churches in New-England, and more than half of them of a good converſation in general, and not one cleared; about fifty having confeſt themſelves to be witches, of which not one executed; above an hundred and fifty in priſon, and above two hundred more accuſed; the ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer comes to a period, which has no other foundation than the governor's commiſſion; and had proceeded in the manner of ſwearing witneſſes, viz. by holding up the hand, (and by receiving evidences in writing) according to the ancient uſage of this country; as alſo having their indictments in Engliſh. In the trials, when any were indicted for afflicting, pining and waſting the bodies of particular perſons by witchcraft, it was uſual to hear evidence of matter foreign, and of perhaps twenty or thirty years ſtanding, about overſetting carts, the death of cattle, unkindneſs to relations, or unexpected accidents befalling after ſome quarrel. Whether this was admitted by the law of England, or by what other law, wants to

be determined; the executions ſeemed mixt, in preſſing to death for not pleading, which moſt agrees with the laws of England; and ſentencing women to be hanged for witchcraft, according to the former practice of this country, and not by burning, as is ſaid to have been the law of England. And though the confeſſing witches were many, yet not one of them that confeſſed their own guilt, and abode by their confeſſion, was put to death.

Here followeth what account ſome of thoſe miſerable creatures give of their confeſſion under their own hands:

"We, whoſe names are under written, inhabitants of Andover, when as that horrible and tremendous judgment beginning at Salem Village, in the year 1692, (by ſome called witchcraft) firſt breaking forth at mr. Parris's houſe, ſeveral young perſons being ſeemingly afflicted, did accuſe ſeveral perſons for afflicting them, and many there believing it ſo to be; we being informed that if a perſon were ſick, the afflicted perſon could tell what or who was the cauſe of that ſickneſs: Joſeph Ballard, of Andover (his wife being ſick at the ſame time) he either from himſelf, or by the advice of others, fetched two of the perſons, called the afflicted perſons, from Salem Village to Andover: which was the beginning

of that dreadful calamity that befel us in Andover. And the authority in Andover, believing the ſaid accuſations to be true, ſent for the ſaid perſons to come together to the meeting-houſe in Andover (the afflicted perſons being there.) After mr. Barnard had been at prayer, we were blindfolded, and our hands were laid upon the afflicted perſons, they being in their fits, and falling into their fits at our coming into their preſence (as they ſaid) and ſome led us and laid our hands upon them, and then they ſaid they were well, and that we were guilty of afflicting of them; whereupon we were all ſeized as priſoners, by a warrant from a juſtice of the peace, and forthwith carried to Salem. And by reaſon of that ſudden ſurpriſal, we knowing ourſelves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed and amazed, and affrighted even out of our reaſon; and our neareſt and deareſt relations, ſeeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, apprehending that there was no other way to ſave our lives, as the caſe was then circumſtanced, but by our confeſſing ourſelves to be ſuch and ſuch perſons, as the afflicted repreſented us to be, they out of tender love and pity perſuaded us to confeſs what we did confeſs. And indeed that confeſſion, that it is ſaid we made, was no other than what was ſuggeſted to us by ſome gentlemen; they telling

us, that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it, which made us think that it was ſo; and our underſtanding, our reaſon and our faculties almoſt gone, we were not capable of judging our condition; as alſo the hard meaſures they uſed with us rendered us uncapable of making our defence; but ſaid any thing and every thing which they deſired; and moſt of what we ſaid was but in effect a conſenting to what they ſaid. Sometime after, when we were better compoſed, they telling of us what we had confeſſed, we did profeſs that we were innocent, and ignorant of ſuch things. And we hearing that Samuel Wardwell had renounced his confeſſion, and quickly after was condemned and executed, ſome of us were told that we were going after Wardwell.

Mary Oſgood, | *Abigail Barker*,
Mary Tiler, | *Sarah Wilſon*,
Deliv. Dane, | *Hannah Tiler.*"

It may here be further added, concerning thoſe that did confeſs, that beſides that powerful argument, of life (and freedom from hardſhips, not only promiſed, but alſo performed to all that owned their guilt) there are numerous inſtances, too many to be here inſerted, of the tedious examinations before private perſons, many hours

together; they all that time urging them to confeſs (and taking turns to perſuade them) till the accuſed were wearied out by being forced to ſtand ſo long, or for want of ſleep, &c. and ſo brought to give an aſſent to what they ſaid; they then aſking them, Were you at ſuch a witch-meeting? or, Have you ſigned the devil's book? &c. Upon their replying, Yes, the whole was drawn into form, as their confeſſion.

But that which did mightily further ſuch confeſſions was, their neareſt relations urging them to it. Theſe, ſeeing no other way of eſcape for them, thought it the beſt advice that could be given; hence it was that the huſbands of ſome, by counſel often urging, and utmoſt earneſtneſs, and children upon their knees intreating, have at length prevailed with them to ſay they were guilty.

As to the manner of trials, and the evidence taken for convictions at Salem, it is already ſet forth in print, by the rev. mr. Cotton Mather, in his *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, at the command of his excellency ſir William Phips; with not only the recommendation, but thanks of the lieutenant governor; and with the approbation of the rev. mr. I. M. in his poſtſcript to his *Caſes of Conſcience*; which laſt book was ſet forth by the conſent of the miniſters in and near Boſ-

ton. Two of the judges have alſo given their ſentiments in theſe words, p. 147.

The reverend and worthy author having, at the direction of his excellency the governor, ſo far obliged the publick, as to give ſome account of the ſufferings brought upon the country by witchcrafts, and of the trials which have paſſed upon ſeveral executed for the same:

Upon peruſal thereof, we find the matters of fact and evidence truly reported, and a proſpect given of the methods of conviction, uſed in the proceedings of the court at Salem.

WILLIAM STOUGHTON,
SAMUEL SEWALL.

Boston, Oct. 11, 1692.

And conſidering that this may fall into the hands of ſuch as never ſaw thoſe *Wonders*, it may be needful to tranſcribe the whole account he has given thereof, without any variation (but with one of the indictments annexed to the trial of each) which is thus prefaced, pp. 81, 82, 83.

"But I ſhall no longer detain my reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the trials which have paſſed upon some of the malefactors lately executed at Salem for the witchcrafts whereof they ſtood convicted. For my own part I was not preſent at any of them; nor ever had I any perſonal prejudice againſt the perſons thus brought upon the ſtage; much leſs, at the ſurviving relations of thoſe perſons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a mourner, as any man living in the world: *The*

Lord comfort them! But having received a command ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly relate the chief matters of fact, which occurred in the trials of ſome that were executed, in an abridgment collected out of the court-papers, on this occaſion put into my hands. You are to take the truth, juſt as it was; and the truth will hurt no good man. There might have been more of theſe; and if ſome other worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe collections; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out four or five, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the way of dealing, wherein witchcrafts uſed to be concerned; and I report matters, not as an advocate, but as an hiſtorian.

"Theſe were ſome of the gracious words inſerted in the advice, which many of the neighbouring miniſters did this ſummer humbly lay before our honourable judges: 'We cannot but with all thankfulneſs acknowledge the ſucceſs, which the merciful God has given unto the ſedulous and aſſiduous endeavours of our honourable rulers, to detect the abominable witchcrafts which have been committed in the country; humbly praying that the diſcovery of thoſe myſterious and miſchievous wickednesſes may be perfected.' If, in the midſt of the many diſſatisfactions among us, the publication of theſe trials may promote ſuch a pious

thankfulneſs unto God, for juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall rejoice that God is glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his glorious works."

The Indictment of George Burroughs.

Eſſex ſs. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*——

The jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the king and queen preſent, that George Burroughs, late of Falmouth, in the province of the Maſſachuſetts Bay, in New England, clerk, the 9th day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c., and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, aforeſaid, in, upon and againſt one Mary Wolcott, of Salem Village, in the county of Eſſex, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid Mary Wolcott, the 9th day of May, in the fourth year aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted, and tormented, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes, *Mary Wolcott*, *Sarah Vibber*, *Mercy Lewis*, *Ann Putman*, *Eliz. Hubbard*.

Endorſed by the grand jury, *Billa Vera.*

There was alſo a ſecond indictment, for afflicting Elizabeth Hubbard. The witneſſes to the ſaid indictment were *Elizabeth Hubbard*, *Mary Wolcott* and *Ann Putman.*

The third indictment was for afflicting Mercy Lewis: the witneſſes, the ſaid *Mercy Lewis*,

Mary Wolcott, *Elizabeth Hubbard* and *Ann Putman.*

The fourth, for acts of witchcraft on Ann Putman: the witneſſes, the ſaid *Ann Putman*, *Mary Wolcott*, *Elizabeth Hubbard*, and *Mary Warren.*

The Trial of G. B. as printed in Wonders of the Inviſible World, from p. 94 to 104.*

Glad ſhould I have been, if I had never known the name of this man, or never had this

* The trial of Rev. George Burroughs appears to have attracted general notice, from the circumſtance of his being a former clergyman in Salem village, and ſuppoſed to be a leader amongſt the witches. — Dr. Cotton Mather ſays he was not preſent at any of the trials for witchcraft; how he could keep away from that of Burroughs, we cannot imagine. — His father, Dr. Increaſe Mather, informs us that he attended this ſingle trial, and ſays, "had I been one of George Burrough's judges, I could not have acquitted him; for ſeveral perſons did upon oath teſtify, that they ſaw him do ſuch things as no man that had not a devil to be his familiar, could perform." Burroughs was apprehended in Wells, in Maine; ſo ſay his children. They alſo inform us, that he was buried by his friends after the inhuman treatment of his body from the hands of his executioners, at Gallows Hill, in Salem. He is repreſented as being a ſmall, black haired, dark complexioned man, of quick paſſions, and poſſeſſing great ſtrength. His power of muſcle, which diſcovered itſelf early when Burroughs was a member of Cambridge College, and which we notice in the ſlight rebutting evidence offered by his friends at his trial, convinces us that he lifted the gun, and the barrel of molaſſes by the power of his own well-strung muſcles, and not by any help from the devil, as was ſuppoſed by the Mathers, both father and ſon. Alas! that a man's own ſtrong arm ſhould thus prove his ruin.

occaſion to mention ſo much as the firſt letters of his name; but the government requiring ſome account of his trial to be inſerted in this book, it becomes me with all obedience to ſubmit unto the order.

1. This G. B. was indicted for witchcrafts; and, in the proſecution of the charge againſt him, he was accuſed by five or ſix of the bewitched, as the author of their miſeries; he was accuſed by eight of the confeſſing witches, as being a head actor at ſome of their helliſh rendezvous, and who had the promiſe of being a king in ſatan's kingdom, now going to be erected; he was accuſed by nine perſons, for extraordinary lifting, and ſuch feats of ſtrength as could not be done without a diabolical aſſiſtance; and for other ſuch things he was accuſed, until about thirty teſtimonies were brought in againſt him; nor were theſe judged the half of what might have been conſidered, for his conviction: however, they were enough to fix the character of a witch upon him, accord-

In regard to the reputation of Rev. George Burroughs, Judge Sullivan, in his hiſtory of Maine, ſays: — "He was a man of bad character, and of a cruel diſpoſition." — Our reſearches lead us to form a very different opinion. And all the weight of character enliſted againſt him, fails to counteract the favourable impreſſion made by his chriſtian conduct, during his impriſonment, and at the time of his execution. We find Georgius Burroughs in the Harvard catalogue liſt of graduates for the year 1670.

ing to the rules of reaſoning, by the judicious *Gaule* in that caſe directed.

2. The court being ſenſible that the teſtimonies of the parties bewitched uſed to have a room among the ſuſpicions, or preſumptions, brought in againſt one indicted for witchcraft, there were now heard the teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons who were moſt notoriouſly bewitched, and every day tortured by inviſible hands, and theſe now all charged the ſpectres of G. B. to have a ſhare in their torments. At the examination of this G. B. the bewitched people were grievouſly haraſſed with preternatural miſchiefs, which could not poſſibly be diſſembled; and they ſtill aſcribed it unto the endeavours of G. B. to kill them. And now, upon his trial, one of the bewitched perſons teſtified, that in her agonies a little black-haired man came to her, ſaying his name was B. and bidding her ſet her hand unto a book, which he ſhewed unto her; and bragging that he was a conjurer above the ordinary rank of witches; that he often perſecuted her with the offer of that book, ſaying, ſhe ſhould be well, and need fear nobody, if ſhe would but ſign it: but he inflicted cruel pains and hurts upon her, becauſe of her denying ſo to do. The teſtimonies of the other ſufferers concurred with theſe; and it was remarkable, that whereas biting was one of the ways which

the witches uſed for the vexing of the ſufferers, when they cried out of G. B. biting them, the print of his teeth would be ſeen on the fleſh of the complainers; and juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth as G. B.'s would then appear upon them, which could be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of ſome other men's.

Others of them teſtified, that in their torments G. B. tempted them to go unto a ſacrament, unto which they perceived him with a ſound of trumpet ſummoning other witches; who quickly after the ſound would come from all quarters unto the rendezvous. One of them, falling into a kind of a trance, afterwards affirmed, that G. B. had carried her into a very high mountain, where he ſhowed her mighty and glorious kingdoms, and ſaid he would give them all to her, if ſhe would write in his book; but ſhe told him, they were none of his to give, and refuſed the motion, enduring much miſery for that refuſal.

It coſt the court a wonderful deal of trouble to hear the teſtimonies of the ſufferers; for when they were going to give in their depoſitions, they would for a long while be taken with fits, that made them uncapable of ſaying anything. The chief judge aſked the priſoner, who he thought hindered theſe witneſſes from giving their teſtimonies; and he anſwered, he ſuppoſed

it was the devil. That honourable perſon then replied, How comes the devil ſo loth to have any teſtimony borne againſt you? which caſt him into very great confuſion.

3. It hath been a frequent thing for the bewitched people to be entertained with apparitions of ghoſts of murdered people, at the ſame time that the ſpectres of the witches trouble them. Theſe ghoſts do always affright the beholders, more than all the other ſpectral repreſentations; and when they exhibit themſelves, they cry out of being murdered by the witchcrafts or other violences of the perſons who are then in ſpectre preſent. It is further conſiderable, that once or twice theſe apparitions have been ſeen by others, at the very ſame time they have ſhown themſelves to the bewitched; and ſeldom have there been theſe apparitions, but when ſomething unuſual and ſuſpected hath attended the death of the party thus appearing. Some, that have been accuſed by theſe apparitions, accoſting the bewitched people, who had never heard a word of any ſuch perſons ever being in the world, have, upon a fair examination, freely and fully confeſſed the murders of thoſe very perſons, although theſe alſo did not know how the apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly ſeveral of the bewitched had given in their teſtimony, that they had been troubled with the apparitions of

two women, who ſaid they were G. B.'s two wives; and that he had been the death of them; and that the magiſtrates muſt be told of it, before whom, if B. upon his trial denied it, they did not know but that they ſhould appear again in the court. Now G. B. had been infamous, for the barbarous uſage of his two ſucceſſive wives, all the country over. Moreover, it was teſtified, the ſpectre of G. B. threatening the ſufferers, told them he had killed (beſides others) mrs. Lawſon and her daughter Ann. And it was noted, that theſe were the virtuous wife and daughter of one, at whom this G. B. might have a prejudice, for being ſerviceable at Salem Village, from whence himſelf had in ill terms removed ſome years before; and that when they died, which was long ſince, there were ſome odd circumſtances about them, which made ſome of the attendants there ſuſpect ſomething of witchcraft, though none imagined from what quarter it ſhould come.

Well, G. B. being now upon his trial, one of the bewitched perſons was caſt into horror at the ghoſts of B.'s two deceaſed wives, then appearing before him, and crying for vengeance againſt him. Hereupon ſeveral of the bewitched perſons were ſucceſſively called in, who all, not knowing what the former had ſeen and ſaid, concurred in their horror of the apparition, which they affirmed that he had before him. But he,

though much appalled, utterly denied that he diſcerned anything of it, nor was it any part of his conviction.

4. Judicious writers have aſſigned it a great place in the conviction of witches, when perſons are impeached by other notorious witches to be as ill as themſelves, eſpecially if the perſons have been much noted for neglecting the worſhip of God. Now, as there might have been teſtimonies enough of G. B's antipathy to prayer, and the other ordinances of God, though by his profeſſion ſingularly obliged thereunto; ſo there now came in againſt the priſoner, the teſtimonies of ſeveral perſons, who confeſſed their own having been horrible witches, and, ever ſince their confeſſions, had been themſelves terribly tortured by the devils and other witches, even like the other ſufferers, and therein undergone the pains of many deaths for their confeſſions,

Theſe now teſtified, that G. B. had been at witch-meetings with them; and that he was the perſon who had ſeduced and compelled them into the ſnares of witchcraft; that he promiſed them fine clothes for doing it; that he brought poppets to them, and thorns to ſtick into thoſe poppets, for the afflicting of other people: and that he exhorted them, with the reſt of the crew, to bewitch all Salem Village; but be ſure to do it gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the Lancaſhire witches were condemned, I do not remember that there was any conſiderable further evidence, than that of the bewitched, and than that of ſome that had confeſſed. We ſee ſo much already againſt G. B. But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had already been produced credible.

5. A famous divine recites this among the convictions of a witch; the teſtimony of the party bewitched, whether pining or dying; together with the joint oaths of ſufficient perſons, that have ſeen certain prodigious pranks, or feats, wrought by the party accuſed. Now God had been pleaſed ſo to leave G. B. that he had enſnared himſelf, by ſeveral inſtances, which he had formerly given, of a preternatural ſtrength; and which were now produced againſt him. He was a very puny man, yet he had often done things beyond the ſtrength of a giant. A gun of about ſeven feet barrel, and ſo heavy that ſtrong men could not ſteadily hold it out, with both hands; there were ſeveral teſtimonies given in by perſons of credit and honour, that he made nothing of taking up ſuch a gun behind the lock with but one hand, and holding it out, like a piſtol, at arm's end. G. B. in his vindication was ſo fooliſh as to ſay, that an Indian was there, and held it out, at the ſame time: whereas, none

of the ſpectators ever ſaw any ſuch Indian; but they ſuppoſed the black man (as the witches call the devil, and they generally ſay he reſembles an Indian) might give him that aſſiſtance. There was evidence likewiſe brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole barrels filled with molaſſes, or cider, in very diſadvantageous poſtures, and carrying them off, through the moſt difficult places, out of a canoe to the ſhore.

Yea, there were two teſtimonies, that G. B. with only putting the fore-finger of his right hand into the muzzle of an heavy gun, a fowling piece of about ſix or ſeven feet barrel, lifted up the gun, and held it out at arm's end; a gun which the deponents, though ſtrong men, could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the but-end, as is uſual. Indeed one of theſe witneſſes was over-perſuaded by ſome perſons to be out of the way upon G. B.'s trial; but he came afterwards, with ſorrow for his withdrawing, and gave in his teſtimony. Nor were either of theſe witneſſes made uſe of as evidence in the trial.

6. There came in ſeveral teſtimonies, relating to the domeſtic affairs of G. B. which had a very hard aſpect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill man, but alſo confirmed the belief of the character which had been already faſtened on him. 'Twas teſtified, that, keeping his two ſucceſſive wives in a ſtrange kind of ſlavery, he

would, when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the talk which any had with them: that he has brought them to the point of death, by his harſh dealings with his wives, and then made the people about him to promiſe that in caſe death ſhould happen they would ſay nothing of it: that he uſed all means to make his wives write, ſign, ſeal and ſwear a covenant never to reveal any of his ſecrets: that his wives had privately complained unto the neighbours about frightly apparitions of evil ſpirits, with which their houſe was ſometimes infeſted; and that many ſuch things had been whiſpered among the neighbourhood. There were alſo ſome other teſtimonies, relating to the death of people, whereby the conſciences of an impartial jury were convinced that G. B. had bewitched the perſons mentioned in the complaints. But I am forced to omit ſeveral ſuch paſſages in this as well as in all the ſucceeding trials, becauſe the ſcribes who took notice of them have not ſupplied me.

7. One mr. Ruck, brother-in-law to this G. B. teſtified, that G. B. and he himſelf, and his ſiſter, who was G. B.'s wife, going out for two or three miles, to gather ſtrawberries, Ruck, with his ſiſter, the wife of G. B. rode home very ſoftly, with G. B. on foot, in their company; G. B. ſtept aſide a little into the buſhes, whereupon

they halted and hollowed for him: he not anſwering, they went away homewards, with a quickened pace, without any expectation of ſeeing him in a conſiderable while; and yet, when they were got near home, to their aſtoniſhment they found him on foot, with them, having a baſket of ſtrawberries. G. B. immediately then fell to chiding his wife, on the account of what ſhe had been ſpeaking to her brother of him on the road; which when they wondered at, he ſaid, he knew their thoughts. Ruck, being ſtartled at that, made ſome reply, intimating that the devil himſelf did not know ſo far; but G. B. anſwered, my God makes known your thoughts unto me. The priſoner now at the bar had nothing to anſwer unto what was thus witneſſed againſt him, that was worth conſidering; only he ſaid, Ruck and his wife left a man with him, when they left him; which Ruck now affirmed to be falſe; and when the court aſked G. B. what the man's name was, his countenance was much altered, nor could he ſay who it was. But the court began to think that he then ſtept aſide, only that by the aſſiſtance of the black man he might put on his inviſibility, and in that faſcinating miſt gratify his own jealous humour, to hear what they ſaid of him: which trick of rendering themſelves inviſible, our witches do in their confeſſions pretend that they

ſometimes are maſters of; and it is the more credible, becauſe there is demonſtration that they often render many other things utterly inviſible.

8. Faultering, faulty, unconſtant and contrary anſwers, upon judicial and deliberate examination, are counted ſome unlucky ſymptoms of guilt in all crimes, eſpecially in witchcrafts. Now there never was a priſoner more eminent for them than G. B. both at his examination and on his trial. His tergiverſations, contradictions, and falſehoods were very ſenſible; he had little to ſay, but that he had heard ſome things, that he could not prove, reflecting upon the reputation of ſome of the witneſſes: only he gave in a paper to the jury, wherein, although he had many times before granted not only that there are witches, but alſo that the preſent ſufferings of the country are the effects of horrible witchcrafts, yet he now goes to evince it, that there neither are, nor ever were, witches, that having made a compact with the devil, can ſend a devil to torment other people at a diſtance. This paper was tranſcribed out of Ady; which the court preſently knew, as ſoon as they heard it. But he ſaid, he had taken none of it out of any book; for which his evaſion afterwards was, that a gentleman gave him the diſcourſe in a manuſcript, from whence he tranſcribed it.

9. The jury brought him in guilty; but when

he came to die, he utterly denied the fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.

The Indictment of Bridget Biſhop.

Eſſex ſs. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*——

The jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the king and queen preſent, that Bridget Biſhop, alias Oliver, the wife of Edward Biſhop, in Salem, in the county of Eſſex, ſawyer, the nineteenth day of April, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, aforeſaid, in, upon and againſt one Mercy Lewis, of Salem Village, in the county aforeſaid, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid Mercy Lewis, the ſaid 19th day of April, in the fourth year aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is hurt, tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

Endorſed, *Billa Vera.*

Witneſſes, *Mercy Lewis*, *Nathaniel Ingerſoll*, mr. *Samuel Parris*, *Thomas Putman*, junior, *Mary Wolcott*, junior, *Ann Putman*, junior, *Eliz. Hubbard*, and *Abigail Williams.*

There was alſo a ſecond indictment, on the ſaid Biſhop, for afflicting and practiſing witchcraft on *Abigail Williams.* Witneſſes to the ſaid indictment were, the ſaid Abigail Williams, mr. Parris, Nathaniel Ingerſoll, Thomas Putman, Ann Putman, Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard.

The third indictment was for afflicting *Mary Wolcott;* witneſſes to which ſaid indictment were, Mary Wolcott, Mary Lewis, mr. Samuel Parris, Nathaniel Ingerſoll, Thomas Putman, Ann Putman, Elizabeth Hubbard, Abigail Williams.

The fourth indictment was for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard;* witneſſes to which ſaid indictment were, the ſaid Elizabeth Hubbard, Mercy Lewis, mr. Parris, Nathaniel Ingerſoll, Thomas Putman, Ann Putman, Mary Wolcott, Abigail Williams.

The fifth indictment was for afflicting *Ann Putman;* witneſſes to which ſaid indictment were the ſaid Ann Putman, mr. Samuel Parris, Nathaniel Ingerſoll, Thomas Putman, Mercy Lewis, Mary Wolcott, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Hubbard.

The Trial of BRIDGET BISHOP, *as printed in Wonders of the Inviſible World, June* 2, 1692, *from p.* 104 *to p.* 114.

1. She was indicted for bewitching ſeveral perſons in the neighbourhood. The indictment being drawn up, according to the form in ſuch caſes uſual, and pleading not guilty, there were brought in ſeveral perſons, who had long undergone many kinds of miſeries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally aſcribed unto an horrible witchcraft. There was little occaſion to prove the witchcraft, it being evident and no-

torious to all beholders. Now to fix the witchcraft on the priſoner at the bar, the firſt thing uſed was the teſtimony of the bewitched; whereof ſeveral teſtified, that the ſhape of the priſoner did oftentimes very grievouſly pinch them, choke them, bite them, and afflict them; urging them to write their names in a book, which the ſaid ſpectre called *ours*. One of them did further teſtify, that it was the ſhape of this priſoner, with another, which one day took her from her wheel, and carrying her to the river ſide, threatened there to drown her, if ſhe did not ſign the book mentioned; which yet ſhe refuſed. Others of them did alſo teſtify, that the ſaid ſhape did, in her threats, brag to them, that ſhe had been the death of ſundry perſons, then by her named. Another teſtified, the apparition of ghoſts unto the ſpectre of Biſhop, crying out, *You murdered us*. About the truth whereof, there was in the matter of fact but too much ſuſpicion.

2. It was teſtified, that at the examination of the priſoner, before the magiſtrates, the bewitched were extremely tortured. If ſhe did but caſt her eyes on them, they were preſently ſtruck down; and this in ſuch a manner as there could be no colluſion in the buſineſs. But upon the touch of her hand upon them, when they lay in their ſwoons, they would immediately revive; and not upon the touch of any one's elſe. More-

over, upon ſome ſpecial actions of her body, as the ſhaking of her head, or the turning of her eyes, they preſently and painfully fell into the like poſtures. And many of the like accidents now fell out, while ſhe was at the bar; one at the ſame time teſtifying, that ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not be troubled to ſee the afflicted thus tormented.

3. There was teſtimony likewiſe brought in, that a man ſtriking once at a place where a bewitched perſon ſaid the ſhape of this Biſhop ſtood, the bewitched cried out that he had torn her coat, in the place then particularly ſpecified; and the woman's coat was found to be torn in the very place.

4. One Deliverance Hobbs, who had confeſſed her being a witch, was now tormented by the ſpectres for her confeſſion. And ſhe now teſtified, that this Biſhop tempted her to ſign the book again, and to deny what ſhe had confeſſed. She affirmed, that it was the ſhape of this priſoner which whipped her with iron rods, to compel her thereunto. And ſhe affirmed, that this Biſhop was at a general meeting of the witches in a field, at Salem Village, and there partook of a diabolical ſacrament, in bread and wine, then adminiſtered.

5. To render it further unqueſtionable, that the priſoner at the bar was the perſon truly charged in this witchcraft, there were produced

many evidences of other witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For inſtance, John Cook teſtified, that about five or ſix years ago, one morning about ſunriſe, he was, in his chamber, aſſaulted by the ſhape of this priſoner; which looked on him, grinned at him, and very much hurt him with a blow on the ſide of the head; and that on the ſame day, about noon, the ſame ſhape walked in the room where he was, and an apple ſtrangely flew out of his hand into the lap of his mother, ſix or eight feet from him.

6. Samuel Gray teſtified, that about fourteen years ago, he waked on a night, and ſaw the room where he lay full of light; and that he then ſaw plainly a woman between the cradle and the bedſide, which looked upon him. He roſe, and it vaniſhed, though he found the doors all faſt. Looking out at the entry door, he ſaw the ſame woman in the ſame garb again; and ſaid, *In God's name, what do you come for?* He went to bed, and had the ſame woman again aſſaulting him. The child in the cradle gave a great ſcreech, and the woman diſappeared. It was long before the child could be quieted; and though it were a very likely, thriving child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers months died in a ſad condition. He knew not Biſhop, nor her name; but when he ſaw her after this, he knew by her countenance, and

apparel, and all circumſtances, that it was the apparition of this Biſhop, which had thus troubled him.

7. John Bly and his wife teſtified, that he bought a ſow of Edward Biſhop, the huſband of the priſoner, and was to pay the price agreed unto another perſon. This priſoner, being angry that ſhe was thus hindered from fingering the money, quarrelled with Bly; ſoon after which the ſow was taken with ſtrange fits, jumping, leaping, and knocking her head againſt the fence; ſhe ſeemed blind and deaf, and would neither eat nor be ſucked. Whereupon a neighbour ſaid, ſhe believed the creature was *overlooked*; and ſundry other circumſtances concurred, which made the deponents believe that Biſhop had bewitched it.

8. Richard Coman teſtified, that eight years ago, as he lay awake in his bed, with a light burning in the room, he was annoyed with the apparition of this Biſhop, and of two more that were ſtrangers to him, who came and oppreſſed him, ſo that he could neither ſtir himſelf, nor wake any one elſe; and that he was the night after moleſted again in the like manner, the ſaid Biſhop taking him by the throat, and pulling him almoſt out of the bed. His kinſman offered for this cauſe to lodge with him; and that night, as they were awake, diſcourſing together, this

Coman was once more viſited by the gueſts which had formerly been ſo troubleſome, his kinſman being at the ſame time ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and unable to move hand or foot. He had laid his ſword by him; which thoſe unhappy ſpectres did ſtrive much to wreſt from him, but he held too faſt for them. He then grew able to call the people of his houſe; but although they heard him, yet they had not power to ſpeak or ſtir, until at laſt one of the people crying out, What's the matter? the ſpectres all vaniſhed.

9. Samuel Shattock teſtified, that in the year 1680, this Bridget Biſhop often came to his houſe upon ſuch frivolous and fooliſh errands, that they ſuſpected ſhe came indeed with a purpoſe of miſchief; preſently whereupon, his eldeſt child, which was of as promiſing health and ſenſe as any child of its age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftener that Biſhop came to his houſe, the worſe grew the child. As the child would be ſtanding at the door, he would be thrown and bruiſed againſt the ſtones, by an inviſible hand, and in like ſort knock his face againſt the ſides of the houſe, and bruiſe it after a miſerable manner. Afterwards this Biſhop would bring him things to dye, whereof he could not imagine any uſe; and when ſhe paid him a piece of money, the purſe and money were unaccountably conveyed out of a locked

box, and never ſeen more. The child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible fits, whereof his friends thought he would have died: indeed he did nothing but cry and ſleep, for ſeveral months together; and at length his underſtanding was utterly taken away. Among other ſymptoms of an enchantment upon him, one was, that there was a board in the garden, whereon he would walk; and all the invitations in the world would never fetch him off. About ſeventeen or eighteen years after, there came a ſtranger to Shattock's houſe, who, ſeeing the child, ſaid, *This poor child is bewitched; and you have a neighbour living not far off who is a witch.* He added, *Your neighbour has had a falling out with your wife; and ſhe ſaid in her heart, your wife is a proud woman, and ſhe would bring down her pride in this child.* He then remembered that Biſhop had parted from his wife in muttering and menacing terms, a little before the child was taken ill. The aboveſaid ſtranger would needs carry the bewitched boy with him to Biſhop's houſe, on pretence of buying a pot of cider. The woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew alſo upon the boy, ſcratching his face till the blood came, and ſaying, *Thou rogue, what! doſt thou bring this fellow here to plague me?* Now it ſeems the man had ſaid, before he went, that he would fetch blood of

her. Ever after the boy was followed by grievous fits, which the doctors themſelves generally aſcribed unto witchcraft; and wherein he would be thrown ſtill into fire or water, if he were not conſtantly looked after; and it was verily believed that Biſhop was the cauſe of it.

10. John Louder teſtified, that upon ſome little controverſy with Biſhop about her fowls, going well to bed, he awaked in the night by moonlight, and clearly ſaw the likeneſs of this woman grievouſly oppreſſing him; in which miſerable condition ſhe held him, unable to help himſelf, till near day. He told Biſhop of this, but ſhe utterly denied it, and threatened him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lord's day, with the doors ſhut about him, he ſaw a black pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vaniſhed away. Immediately after, ſitting down, he ſaw a black thing jump in at the window, and come and ſtand before him: the body was like that of a monkey, the feet like a cock's, but the face much like a man's. He being ſo extremely frighted that he could not ſpeak, this monſter ſpoke to him, and ſaid, *I am a meſſenger ſent unto you, for I underſtand that you are in ſome trouble of mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you ſhall want for nothing in this world.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no

ſubſtance, and it jumped out of the window again; but immediately came in by the porch, though the doors were ſhut, and ſaid, *You had better take my counſel.* He then ſtruck at it with a ſtick, but ſtruck only the groundſel, and broke the ſtick. The arm with which he ſtruck was preſently diſenabled, and it vaniſhed away. He preſently went out at the back door, and ſpied this Biſhop, in her orchard, going towards her houſe; but he had not power to ſet one foot forward unto her. Whereupon, returning into the houſe, he was immediately accoſted by the monſter he had ſeen before; which goblin was now going to fly at him; whereat he cried out, *The whole armour of God be between me and you!* ſo it ſprang back, and flew over the apple-tree, ſhaking many apples off the tree in its flying over. At its leap, it flung dirt with its feet againſt the ſtomach of the man; whereon he was then ſtruck dumb, and ſo continued for three days together. Upon the producing of this teſtimony, Biſhop denied that ſhe knew this deponent. Yet their two orchards joined, and they had often had their little quarrels for ſome years together.

11. William Stacy teſtified, that receiving money of this Biſhop for work done by him, he was gone but about three rods from her, and, looking for his money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, Biſhop aſked

him whether his father would grind her griſt for her. He demanded why. She replied, Becauſe folks count me a witch. He anſwered, No queſtion but he will grind it for you. Being then gone about ſix rods from her, with a ſmall load in his cart, ſuddenly the off wheel ſlumpt, and ſunk down into an hole, upon plain ground, ſo that the deponent was forced to get help for the recovering of the wheel. But ſtepping back to look for the hole which might give him this diſaſter, there was none at all to be found. Some time after he was awakened in the night; but it ſeemed as light as day; and he perfectly ſaw the ſhape of this Biſhop in the room, troubling him; but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charged Biſhop afterwards with it, and ſhe denied it not, but was very angry. Quickly after, this deponent having been threatened by Biſhop, as he was in a dark night going to the barn, he was very ſuddenly taken or lifted up from the ground, and thrown againſt a ſtone wall; after that he was again hoiſted up, and thrown down a bank, at the end of his houſe. After this, again paſſing by this Biſhop, his horſe, with a ſmall load, ſtriving to draw, all his gears flew to pieces, and the cart fell down; and this deponent going then to lift a bag of corn, of about two buſhels, could not lift it with all his might.

Many other pranks of this Biſhop, this depo-

nent was ready to teſtify. He alſo teſtified, that he verily believed the ſaid Biſhop was the inſtrument of his daughter Priſcilla's death; of which ſuſpicion, pregnant reaſons were aſſigned.

12. To crown all, John Bly and William Bly teſtified, that, being employed by Bridget Biſhop to help take down the cellar-wall of the old houſe, wherein ſhe formerly lived, they did in holes of the ſaid old wall find ſeveral poppets made up of rags and hogs' briſtles, with headleſs pins in them, the points being outward: whereof ſhe could now give no account unto the court, that was reaſonable or tolerable.

13. One thing that made againſt the priſoner was, her being evidently convicted of groſs lying in the court, ſeveral times, while ſhe was making her plea. But beſides this, a jury of women found a preternatural teat upon her body; but upon a ſecond ſearch, within three or four hours, there was no ſuch thing to be ſeen. There was alſo an account of other people, whom this woman had afflicted; and there might have been many more, if they had been inquired for; but there was no need of them.

14. There was one very ſtrange thing more, with which the court was newly entertained. As this woman was, under a guard, paſſing by the great and ſpacious meeting-houſe of Salem, ſhe gave a look towards the houſe; and imme-

diately a dæmon, inviſibly entering the meeting-houſe, tore down a part of it; ſo that though there were no perſon to be ſeen there, yet the people, at the noiſe running in, found a board, which was ſtrongly faſtened with ſeveral nails, tranſported unto another quarter of the houſe.

The Indictment of Suſanna Martin.

Eſſex ſs *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ nunc Angeliæ, &c. quarto.*——

The jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the king and queen preſent, that Suſanna Martin, of Ameſbury, in the county of Eſſex, widow, the ſecond day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, aforeſaid, in, upon and againſt one Mary Wolcott, of Salem Village, in the county of Eſſex, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid Mary Wolcott, the ſecond day of May, in the fourth year aforeſaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented; as alſo for ſundry other acts of witchcraft by ſaid Suſanna Martin committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, William and Mary, king and queen of England, their crown and dignity, and againſt the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided.

Returned by the grand jury, *Billa vera.*

Witneſſes — *Sarah Vibber, Mary Wolcott, Samuel Parris, Elizabeth Hubbard and Mercy Lewis.*

The ſecond indictment was for afflicting *Mercy Lewis.* Witneſſes — Samuel Parris, Ann

Putman, Sarah Vibber, Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Wolcott and Mercy Lewis.

The Trial of SUSANNA MARTIN, *June* 29, 1692; *as is printed in Wonders of the Invisible World, from p.* 114 *to p.* 116.

1. Susanna Martin pleading not guilty to the indictment of witchcraft brought in against her, there were produced the evidences of many persons very sensibly and grievously bewitched, who all complained of the prisoner at the bar, as the person whom they believed the cause of their miseries. And now, as well as in the other trials, there was an extraordinary endeavour by witchcrafts, with cruel and frequent fits, to hinder the poor sufferers from giving in their complaints; which the court was forced with much patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

There was now also an account given of what had passed at her first examination before the magistrates; the cast of her eye then striking the afflicted people to the ground, whether they saw that cast or no. There were these among other passages between the magistrates and the examinant:

Magistrate. Pray, what ails these people?

Martin. I don't know.

Mag. But, what do you think ails them?

Martin. I do not deſire to ſpend my judgment upon it.

Mag. Don't you think they are bewitched?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Mag. Tell us your thoughts about them, then.

Martin. No, my thoughts are my own when they are in, but when they are out they are another's. Their maſter——

Mag. Their maſter! Who do you think is their maſter?

Martin. If they be dealing in the black art, you may know as well as I.

Mag. Well, what have you done towards this.

Martin. Nothing at all.

Mag. Why, 'tis you or your appearance.

Martin. I can't help it.

Mag. Is it not your maſter? How comes your appearance to hurt theſe?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the ſhape of Samuel, a glorified ſaint, may appear in any one's ſhape.

It was then alſo noted in her, as in others like her, that if the afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the ground; and when ſhe was aſked the reaſon of it, ſhe ſaid, I cannot tell; it may be the devil bears me more malice than another.

3. The court accounted themſelves alarmed by theſe things to inquire further into the converſa-

tion of the priſoner, and ſee what there might occur to render theſe accuſations further credible. Whereupon John Allen, of Saliſbury, teſtified, that he refuſing, becauſe of the weakneſs of his oxen, to cart ſome ſtaves at the requeſt of this Martin, ſhe was diſpleaſed at it, and ſaid, it had been as good that he had, for his oxen ſhould never do him much more ſervice. Whereupon this deponent ſaid, Doſt thou threaten me, thou old witch? I'll throw thee into the brook; which to avoid, ſhe flew over the bridge, and eſcaped. But as he was going home, one of his oxen tired, ſo that he was forced to unyoke him that he might get him home. He then put his oxen, with many more, upon Saliſbury-beach, where cattle uſed to get fleſh. In a few days, all the oxen upon the beach were found by their tracks to have run unto the mouth of Merrimack-river, and not returned; but the next day they were found come aſhore upon Plum-iſland. They that ſought them uſed all imaginable gentleneſs; but they would ſtill run away with a violence that ſeemed wholly diabolical, till they came near the mouth of Merrimack-river, when they ran right into the ſea, ſwimming as far as they could be ſeen. One of them then ſwam back again, with a ſwiftneſs amazing to the beholders, who ſtood ready to receive him, and help up his tired carcaſs; but the beaſt ran

turiouſly up into the iſland, and from thence through the marſhes, up into Newbury-town, and ſo up into the woods; and after a while was found near Ameſbury. So that, of fourteen good oxen, there was only this ſaved: the reſt were all caſt up, ſome in one place, and ſome in another, drowned.

4. John Atkinſon teſtified, that he exchanged a cow with a ſon of Suſanna Martin, whereat ſhe muttered, and was unwilling he ſhould have it. Going to receive this cow, though he hamſtringed her, and haltered her, ſhe of a tame creature grew ſo mad, that they could ſcarce get her along. She broke all the ropes that were faſtened unto her; and though ſhe was tied faſt unto a tree, yet ſhe made her eſcape, and gave them ſuch further trouble, as they could aſcribe to no cauſe but witchcraft.

5. Bernard Peache teſtified, that, being in bed, on a Lord's-day night, he heard a ſcrabbling at the window, whereat he then ſaw Suſanna Martin come in, and jump down upon the floor. She took hold of this deponent's feet, and, drawing his body up into an heap, ſhe lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither ſpeak nor ſtir. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her hand, and pulling it up to his mouth, he bit three of her fingers, as he judged, to the bone; whereupon

ſhe went from the chamber down the ſtairs, out at the door. This deponent thereupon called unto the people of the houſe to adviſe them of what paſſed; and he himſelf followed her. The people ſaw her not; but there being a bucket at the left hand of the door, there was a drop of blood on it, and ſeveral more drops of blood upon the ſnow, newly fallen abroad. There was likewiſe the print of her two feet, juſt without the threſhold; but no more ſign of any footing further off.

At another time this deponent was deſired by the priſoner to come to huſking of corn, at her houſe; and ſhe ſaid, *If he did not come, it were better that he did.* He went not; but the night following, Suſanna Martin, as he judged, and another, came towards him. One of them ſaid, *Here he is;* but he, having a quarterſtaff, made a blow at them: the roof of the barn broke his blow; but, following them to the window, he made another blow at them, and ſtruck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he ſaw no more of them.

About this time, there was a rumour about the town, that Martin had a broken head; but the deponent could ſay nothing to that.

The ſaid Peache alſo teſtified, the bewitching of cattle to death, upon Martin's diſcontents.

6. Robert Downer teſtified, that this priſoner

being ſome years ago proſecuted at court for a witch, he then ſaid unto her, *he believed ſhe was a witch.* Whereat ſhe being diſſatisfied, ſaid, *that ſome ſhe-devil would ſhortly fetch him away;* which words were heard by others, as well as himſelf. The night following, as he lay in his bed, there came in at the window, the likeneſs of a cat, which flew upon him, and took faſt hold of his throat, lay on him a conſiderable while, and almoſt killed him; at length he remembered what Suſanna Martin had threatened the day before, and with much ſtriving he cried out, *Avoid, thou ſhe-devil; in the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, avoid:* whereupon it left him, leaped on the floor, and flew out at the window.

And there alſo came in ſeveral teſtimonies, that, before ever Downer ſpoke a word of this accident, Suſanna Martin and her family had related how this Downer had been handled.

7. John Kembal teſtified, that Suſanna Martin, upon a cauſeleſs diſguſt, had threatened him about a certain cow of his, that ſhe ſhould never do him any more good, and it came to paſs accordingly; for ſoon after the cow was found ſtark dead on the dry ground, without any diſtemper to be diſcerned upon her; upon which he was followed with a ſtrange death upon more of his cattle; whereof he loſt in one ſpring, to

the value of 30 *l.* But the ſaid John Kembal had a further teſtimony to give in againſt the priſoner, which was truly admirable. Being deſirous to furniſh himſelf with a dog, he applied himſelf to buy one of this Martin, who had a bitch with whelps in her houſe; but ſhe not letting him have his choice, he ſaid he would ſupply himſelf then at one Blezdel's. Having marked a puppy which he liked at Blezdel's, he met George Martin, the huſband of the priſoner, going by, who aſked whether he would not have one of his wife's puppies; and he anſwered, no. The ſame day one Edmund Eliot, being at Martin's houſe, heard George Martin relate where this Kembal had been, and what he had ſaid; whereupon Suſanna Martin replied, *If I live I'll give him puppies enough.* Within a few days after this, Kembal coming out of the woods, there aroſe a little black cloud in the N. W. and Kembal immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the ſtumps of trees that were before him, although he had a broad, plain cart-way before him; but though he had his axe on his ſhoulder to endanger him in his falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the meeting-houſe, there appeared to him a little thing like a puppy, of a darkiſh colour, and it ſhot backwards and for-

wards between his legs. He had the courage to uſe all poſſible endeavours to cut it with his axe, but he could not hit it; the puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him it ſeemed, into the ground. Going a little further, there appeared unto him a black puppy, ſomewhat bigger than the firſt, but as black as a coal. Its motions were quicker than thoſe of his axe. It flew at his belly, and at his throat, ſo over his ſhoulders one way, and then over his ſhoulders another way. His heart now began to fail him, and he thought the dog would have tore his throat out; but he recovered himſelf, and called upon God in his diſtreſs, and naming the name of Jeſus Chriſt, it vaniſhed away at once. The deponent ſpoke not one word of theſe accidents, for fear of affrighting his wife. But the next morning, Edmund Eliot going into Martin's houſe, this woman aſked him where Kembal was. He replied, At home, a-bed, for ought he knew. She returned, They ſay he was frighted laſt night. Eliot aſked, With what? She anſwered, With puppies. Eliot aſked where ſhe heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it. She rejoined, About the town; although Kembal had mentioned the matter to no creature living.

8. William Brown teſtified, that Heaven having bleſſed him with a moſt pious and prudent wife, this wife of his one day met with Suſanna

Martin; but when ſhe approached juſt unto her, Martin vaniſhed out of ſight, and left her extremely affrighted. After which time the ſaid Martin often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when ſhe did come, ſhe was viſited with birds, that ſorely pecked and pricked her; and ſometimes a bunch like a pullet's egg would riſe on her throat, ready to choke her, till ſhe cried out, *Witch, you ſhan't choke me!* While this good woman was in this extremity, the church appointed a day of prayer on her behalf; whereupon the trouble ceaſed; ſhe ſaw not Martin as formerly; and the church, inſtead of their faſt, gave thanks for her deliverance. But a conſiderable while after, ſhe being ſummoned to give in ſome evidence at the court againſt this Martin, quickly this Martin came behind her, while ſhe was milking her cow, and ſaid unto her, *For thy defaming me at court, I'll make thee the miſerableſt creature in the world.* Soon after which, ſhe fell into a ſtrange kind of diſtemper, and became horribly frantic, and uncapable of any reaſonable action; the phyſicians declaring that her diſtemper was preternatural, and that ſome devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition ſhe now remained.

9. Sarah Atkinſon teſtified, that Suſanna Martin came from Ameſbury, to their houſe at Newbury, in an extraordinary ſeaſon, when it was not

fit for any one to travel. She came (as ſhe ſaid to Atkinſon) all that long way on foot. She bragged and ſhowed how dry ſhe was; nor could it be perceived that ſo much as the ſoles of her ſhoes were wet. Atkinſon was amazed at it, and profeſſed that ſhe ſhould herſelf have been wet up to the knees, if ſhe had then come ſo far; but Martin replied, *ſhe ſcorned to be drabbled.* It was noted that this teſtimony, upon her trial, caſt her into a very ſingular confuſion.

10. John Preſſy teſtified, that being one evening very unaccountably bewildered near a field of Martin, and ſeveral times as one under an enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he ſaw a marvellous light, about the bigneſs of an half buſhel, near two rods out of the way. He went and ſtruck at it with a ſtick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near forty blows, and felt it a palpable ſubſtance. But, going from it, his heels were ſtruck up, and he was laid with his back on the ground; ſliding, as he thought, into a pit; from whence he recovered, by taking hold on a buſh; although afterwards he could find no ſuch pit in the place. Having after his recovery gone five or ſix rods, he ſaw Suſanna Martin ſtanding on his left hand, as the light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could ſcarce find his houſe in his return; but at length he

got home, extremely affrighted. The next day it was upon inquiry underſtood, that Martin was in a miſerable condition, by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further teſtified by this deponent, that after he had given in ſome evidence againſt Suſanna Martin many years ago, ſhe gave him foul words about it, and ſaid, *he ſhould never proſper; more particularly, that he ſhould never have more than two cows: that though he were ever ſo likely to have more, yet he ſhould never have them;* and that, from that very day to this, namely for twenty years together, he could never exceed that number, but ſome ſtrange thing or other ſtill prevented his having any more.

11. Jarvis Ring teſtified, that about ſeven years ago he was oftentimes grievouſly oppreſſed in the night, but ſaw not who troubled him, until at length he, lying perfectly awake, plainly ſaw Suſanna Martin approach him: ſhe came to him, and forcibly bit him by the finger; ſo that the print of the bite is now, ſo long after, to be ſeen upon him.

12. But, beſides all theſe evidences, there was a moſt wonderful account of one Joſeph Ring produced on this occaſion. This man has been ſtrangely carried about, by dæmons, from one witch-meeting to another, for near two years together; and for one quarter of this time they

made him and kept him dumb, though he is now again able to ſpeak. There was one T. H. who, having, as 'tis judged, a deſign of engaging this Joſeph Ring in a ſnare of deviliſm, contrived a wile to bring this Ring two ſhillings in debt unto him. Afterwards this poor man would be viſited with unknown ſhapes, and this T. H. ſometimes among them: which would force him away with them, unto unknown places, where he ſaw meetings, feaſting, dancings; and after his return, wherein they hurried him along through the air, he gave demonſtrations to the neighbours, that he had been ſo tranſported. When he was brought unto theſe helliſh meetings, one of the firſt things they ſtill did unto him was, to give him a knock on the back, whereupon he was ever, as if bound with chains, uncapable of ſtirring out of the place, till they ſhould releaſe him. He related, that there often came to him a man, who preſented him a book, whereto he would have him ſet his hand; promiſing him that he ſhould then have even what he would; and preſenting him with all the delectable things, perſons and places that he could imagine; but he refuſing to ſubſcribe, the buſineſs would end with dreadful ſhapes, noiſes and ſcreeches, which almoſt ſcared him out of his wits. Once, with a book, there was a pen offered him, and an inkhorn, with liquor in it, that ſeemed like blood; but he never touched it.

This man did now affirm, that he ſaw the priſoner at ſeveral of theſe helliſh rendezvous.

Note. This woman was one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked creatures, in the world: and ſhe now, throughout her whole trial, diſcovered herſelf to be ſuch an one. Yet when ſhe was aſked what ſhe had to ſay for herſelf, her chief plea was, that ſhe had led a moſt virtuous and holy life.

The Indictment of Elizabeth How.

Eſſex ſs. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*——

The jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the king and queen preſent, that Elizabeth How, wife of James How, of Ipſwich, in the county of Eſſex, the thirty-firſt day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, aforeſaid, in, upon and againſt one Mary Wolcott, of Salem Village, in the county aforeſaid, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid Mary Wolcott, the ſaid thirty-firſt day of May, in the fourth year aboveſaid, and divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented; and alſo for ſundry other acts of witchcrafts, by ſaid Elizabeth How committed and done before and ſince that time, againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, the king and queen, and againſt the form of the ſtatute in that caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes— *Mary Wolcott, Ann Putman, Abigail Williams, Samuel Pearly and his wife Ruth, Joſeph Andrews, and wife Sarah, John Sherrin, Joſeph Safford, Francis Lane Lydia Foſter, Iſaac Cummins*, junior.

There was alſo a ſecond indictment for afflicting *Mercy Lewis*. Witneſſes — Mercy Lewis, Mary Wolcott, Ann Putman, Samuel Pearly and wife, Joſeph Andrews and wife, John Sherrin, Joſeph Safford, Francis Lane, Lydia Foſter.

The Trial of ELIZABETH HOW, *June* 30, 1692; *as is printed in Wonders of the Inviſible World, from p.* 126 *to p.* 132, *incluſively.*

1. Elizabeth How, pleading not guilty to the indictment of witchcrafts then charged upon her, the court, according to the uſual proceeding of the courts in England in ſuch caſes, began with hearing the depoſition of ſeveral afflicted people, who were grievouſly tormented by ſenſible and evident witchcrafts, and all complained of the priſoner as the cauſe of their trouble. It was alſo found that the ſufferers were not able to bear her look; as likewiſe that in their greateſt ſwoons they diſtinguiſhed her touch from other people's, l eing thereby raiſed out of them. And there was other teſtimony of people, to whom the ſhape of this How gave trouble nine or ten years ago.

2. It has been a moſt uſual thing for the bewitched perſons, at the ſame time that the ſpectres, repreſenting the witches troubled them, to be viſited with apparitions of ghoſts, pretending to have been murdered by the witches then repre-

ſented. And ſometimes the confeſſions of the witches afterwards acknowledged thoſe very murders, which theſe apparitions charged upon them, although they had never heard what information had been given by the ſufferers. There were ſuch apparitions of ghoſts teſtified by ſome of the preſent ſufferers, and the ghoſts affirmed that this How had murdered them: which things were feared, but not proved.

3. This How had made ſome attempts of joining to the church at Ipſwich, ſeveral years ago; but ſhe was denied an admiſſion into that holy ſociety, partly through a ſuſpicion of witchcraft, then urged againſt her. And there now came in teſtimony of preternatural miſchiefs preſently befalling ſome that had been inſtrumental to debar her from the communion whereupon ſhe was intruding.

4. There was a particular depoſition of Joſeph Safford, that his wife had conceived an extreme averſion to this How, on the reports of her witchcrafts; but How one day taking her by the hand, and ſaying, *I believe you are not ignorant of the great ſcandal that I lie under by an evil report raiſed upon me*, ſhe immediately, unreaſonably, and unperſuadably, even like one enchanted, began to take this woman's part. How being ſoon after propounded, as deſiring an admiſſion to the table of the Lord, ſome of

the pious brethren were unſatisfied about her. The elders appointed a meeting, to hear matters objected againſt her; and no arguments in the world could hinder this goodwife Safford from going to the lecture. She did indeed promiſe, with much ado, that ſhe would not go to the church-meeting; yet ſhe could not refrain going thither alſo. How's affairs were ſo canvaſſed, that ſhe came off rather guilty than cleared; nevertheleſs goodwife Safford could not forbear taking her by the hand, and ſaying, *Though you are condemned before men, you are juſtified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very ſtrange manner; frantic, raving, raging, and crying out, *Goody How muſt come into the church; ſhe is a precious ſaint; and though ſhe be condemned before men, ſhe is juſtified before God.* So ſhe continued for the ſpace of two or three hours, and then fell into a trance. But coming to herſelf, ſhe cried out, *Ha! I was miſtaken!* afterwards again repeated, *Ha! I was miſtaken!* Being aſked by a ſtander-by wherein, ſhe replied, *I thought goody How had been a precious ſaint of God, but now I ſee ſhe is a witch: ſhe has bewitched me and my child, and we ſhall never be well till there be teſtimony for her, that ſhe may be taken into the church.*

And How ſaid, afterwards, *That ſhe was very ſorry to ſee Safford at the church-meeting mentioned.* Safford, after this, *declared herſelf to be afflicted*

by the ſhape of How, and that from that ſhape ſhe endured many miſeries.

5. John How, brother to the huſband of the priſoner, teſtified, that he refuſing to accompany the priſoner unto her examination as was by her deſired, immediately ſome of his cattle were bewitched to death, leaping three or four feet high, turning about, ſqueaking, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an ear, for an uſe that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the hand wherein he held his knife was taken very numb; and ſo it remained, and full of pain, for ſeveral days, being not well at this very time. And he ſuſpected this priſoner for the author of it.

6. Nehemiah Abbot teſtified, that unuſual and miſchievous accidents would befall his cattle, whenever he had any difference with this priſoner. Once particularly ſhe wiſhed his ox choked; and within a little while that ox was choked with a turnip in his throat. At another time, refuſing to lend his horſe at the requeſt of her daughter, the horſe was in a preternatural manner abuſed. And ſeveral other odd things of that kind were teſtified.

7. There came in teſtimony, that one goodwife Sherwin, upon ſome difference with How, was bewitched, and that ſhe died charging this How of having an hand in her death; and that other people had their barrels of drink unaccount-

ably miſchiefed, ſpoilt and ſpilt, upon their diſpleaſing her.

The things in themſelves were trivial; but there being ſuch a courſe of them, it made them the more to be conſidered. Among others, Martha Wood gave her teſtimony, that a little after her father had been employed in gathering an account of this How's converſation, they once and again loſt great quantities of drink out of their veſſels, in ſuch a manner as they could aſcribe to nothing but witchcraft; as alſo that How giving her ſome apples, when ſhe had eaten of them ſhe was taken with a very ſtrange kind of a maze, inſomuch that ſhe knew not what ſhe ſaid or did.

8. There was likewiſe a cluſter of depoſitions, that one Iſaac Cummins refuſing to lend his mare to the huſband of this How, the mare was within a day or two taken in a ſtrange condition. The beaſt ſeemed much abuſed, being bruiſed, as if ſhe had been running over the rocks, and marked where the bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot bridle. Moreover, one uſing a pipe of tobacco for the cure of the beaſt, a blue flame iſſued out of her, took hold of her hair, and not only ſpread and burnt on her, but it alſo flew upwards towards the roof of the barn, and had like to have ſet the barn on fire. And the mare died very ſuddenly.

9. Timothy Pearly and his wife teſtified, not only that unaccountable miſchiefs befel their cattle upon their having differences with this priſoner, but alſo that they had a daughter deſtroyed by witchcrafts; which daughter ſtill charged How as the cauſe of her affliction; and it was noted that ſhe would be ſtruck down whenever How was ſpoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the fire, and into the water, in her ſtrange fits; though her father had corrected her for charging How with bewitching her, yet (as was teſtified by others alſo) ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſure of it, and muſt die ſtanding to it. Accordingly ſhe charged How to the very death; and ſaid, *Though How could afflict and torment her body, yet ſhe could not hurt her ſoul, and that the truth of this matter would appear when ſhe ſhould be dead and gone.*

10. Francis Lane teſtified, that being hired by the huſband of this How to get him a parcel of poſts and rails, this Lane hired John Pearly to aſſiſt him. This priſoner then told Lane, that ſhe believed the poſts and rails would not do, becauſe John Pearly helped him; but that if he had gotten them alone without John Pearly's help, they might have done well enough. When James How came to receive his poſts and rails of Lane, How taking them up by the ends, they, though good and ſound, yet unaccountably broke

off, ſo that Lane was forced to get thirty or forty more. And this priſoner being informed of it, ſhe ſaid, *ſhe told him ſo before, becauſe Pearly helped about them.*

11. Afterwards there came in the confeſſions of ſeveral other (penitent) witches, which affirmed this How to be one of thoſe who with them had been baptiſed by the devil in the river, at Newbury-falls; before which, he made them there kneel down by the brink of the river, and worſhip him.

The Indictment of Martha Carrier.

Eſſex ſs. *Anno Regni Regis & Reginæ Willielmi & Mariæ, nunc Angliæ, &c. quarto.*——

The jurors for our ſovereign lord and lady the king and queen preſent, that Martha Carrier, wife of Thomas Carrier, of Andover, in the county of Eſſex, huſbandman, the thirty-firſt day of May, in the fourth year of the reign of our ſovereign lord and lady William and Mary, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, king and queen, defenders of the faith, &c. and divers other days and times, as well before as after, certain deteſtable arts, called witchcrafts and ſorceries, wickedly and felonioufly hath uſed, practiſed and exerciſed, at and within the townſhip of Salem, in the county of Eſſex, aforeſaid, in, upon and againſt one Mary Wolcott, of Salem Village, in the county of Eſſex, ſingle woman; by which ſaid wicked arts the ſaid Mary Wolcott, the thirty-firſt day of May, in the fourth year aforeſaid, and at divers other days and times, as well before as after, was and is tortured, afflicted, pined, conſumed, waſted and tormented; againſt the peace of our ſovereign lord and lady, William and Mary, king and queen of England, their crown and dignity, and againſt the form of the ſtatute, in that caſe made and provided.

Witneſſes — *Mary Wolcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putman.*

There was alſo a ſecond indictment for afflicting *Elizabeth Hubbard*, by witchcraft. Witneſſes — Elizabeth Hubbard, Mary Wolcott, Ann Putman, Mary Warren.

The Trial of MARTHA CARRIER, *Auguſt* 2, 1692; *as may be ſeen in Wonders of the Inviſible World, from p.* 132, *to p.* 138.

1. Martha Carrier was indicted for the bewitching of certain perſons, according to the form uſual in ſuch caſes. Pleading not guilty to her indictment, there were firſt brought in a conſiderable number of the bewitched perſons; who not only made the court ſenſible of an horrid witchcraft committed upon them, but alſo depoſed, that it was Martha Carrier, or her ſhape, that grievouſly tormented them, by biting, pricking, pinching and choking them. It was further depoſed, that while this Carrier was on her examination before the magiſtrates, the poor people were ſo tortured, that every one expected their death upon the very ſpot; but that upon the binding of Carrier they were eaſed. Moreover the looks of Carrier then laid the afflicted people for dead; and her touch, if her eyes at the ſame time were off them, raiſed them again. Which things were alſo now ſeen upon her trial. And it was teſtified, that upon the mention of ſome having their necks twiſted almoſt round by

the ſhape of this Carrier, ſhe replied, *Its no matter, though their necks had been twiſted quite off.*

2. Before the trial of this priſoner, ſeveral of her own children had frankly and fully confeſſed, not only that they were witches themſelves, but that their mother had made them ſo. This confeſſion they made with great ſhows of repentance, and with much demonſtration of truth. They related place, time and occaſion; they gave an account of journeys, meetings and miſchiefs by them performed, and were very credible in what they ſaid. Nevertheleſs, this evidence was not produced againſt the priſoner at the bar, in as much as there was other evidence enough to proceed upon.

3. Benjamin Abbot gave in his teſtimony, that, laſt March was a twelve-month, this Carrier was very angry with him, upon laying out ſome land near her huſband's. Her expreſſions in this anger were, that ſhe would ſtick as cloſe to Abbot as the bark ſtuck to the tree; and that he ſhould repent of it before ſeven years came to an end, ſo as doctor Preſcot ſhould never cure him. Theſe words were heard by others beſides Abbot himſelf, who alſo heard her ſay, ſhe would hold his noſe as cloſe to the grindſtone as ever it was held ſince his name was Abbot. Preſently after this he was taken with a ſwelling in his foot, and then with a pain in his ſide, and ex-

ceedingly tormented. It bred a ſore, which was lanced by Dr. Preſcot, and ſeveral gallons of corruption ran out of it. For ſix weeks it continued very bad; and then another ſore bred in his groin, which was alſo lanced by Dr. Preſcot. Another ſore bred in his groin, which was likewiſe cut, and put him to very great miſery. He was brought to death's door, and ſo remained until Carrier was taken and carried away by the conſtable; from which very day he began to mend, and ſo grew better every day, and is well ever ſince.

Sarah Abbot alſo, his wife, teſtified, that her huſband was not only all this while afflicted in his body, but alſo that ſtrange, extraordinary and unaccountable calamities befel his cattle; their death being ſuch as they could gueſs no natural reaſon for.

4. Allin Toothaker teſtified, that Richard, the ſon of Martha Carrier, having ſome difference with him, pulled him down by the hair of the head; when he roſe again, he was going to ſtrike at Richard Carrier, but fell down flat on his back to the ground, and had not power to ſtir hand or foot, until he told Carrier he yielded; and then he ſaw the ſhape of Martha Carrier go off his breaſt.

This Toothaker had received a wound in the wars; and he now teſtified, that Martha Carrier

told him, he ſhould never be cured. Juſt before the apprehending of Carrier, he could thruſt a knitting-needle into his wound four inches deep; but preſently after her being ſeized, he was thoroughly healed.

He further teſtified, that when Carrier and he ſometimes were at variance, ſhe would clap her hands at him, and ſay, *he ſhould get nothing by it.* Whereupon he ſeveral times loſt his cattle by ſtrange deaths, whereof no natural cauſes could be given.

5. John Roger alſo teſtified, that, upon the threatening words of this malicious Carrier, his cattle would be ſtrangely bewitched; as was more particularly then deſcribed.

6. Samuel Preſton teſtified, that about two years ago, having ſome difference with Martha Carrier, he loſt a cow in a ſtrange, preternatural, unuſual manner; and about a month after this, the ſaid Carrier having again ſome difference with him, ſhe told him he had lately loſt a cow, and it ſhould not be long before he loſt another; which accordingly came to paſs; for he had a thriving and well-kept cow, which without any known cauſe quickly fell down and died.

7. Phebe Chandler teſtified, that about a fortnight before the apprehenſion of Martha Carrier, on a Lord's-day, while the pſalm was ſinging in the church, this Carrier then took her by the

ſhoulder, and ſhaking her, aſked her where ſhe lived: ſhe made her no anſwer, although, as Carrier lived next door to her father's houſe, ſhe could not in reaſon but know who ſhe was. Quickly after this, as ſhe was at ſeveral times croſſing the fields, ſhe heard a voice that ſhe took to be Martha Carrier's, and it ſeemed as if it were over her head. The voice told her, *ſhe ſhould within two or three days be poiſoned:* accordingly, within ſuch a little time, one half of her right hand became greatly ſwollen and very painful, as alſo part of her face; whereof ſhe can give no account how it came. It continued very bad for ſome days; and ſeveral times ſince ſhe has had a great pain in her breaſt; and been ſo ſeized on her legs, that ſhe has hardly been able to go. She added, that lately going well to the houſe of God, Richard, the ſon of Martha Carrier, looked very earneſtly upon her, and immediately her hand, which had formerly been poiſoned, as is aboveſaid, began to pain her greatly, and ſhe had a ſtrange burning at her ſtomach; but was then ſtruck deaf, ſo that ſhe could not hear any of the prayer, or ſinging, till the two or three laſt words of the pſalm.

8. One Foſter, who confeſſed her own ſhare in the witchcraft, for which the priſoner ſtood indicted, affirmed, that ſhe had ſeen the priſoner at ſome of their witch-meetings, and that it was

this Carrier who perſuaded her to be a witch. She confeſſed that the devil carried them on a pole to a witch-meeting; but the pole broke, and ſhe hanging about Carrier's neck, they both fell down, and ſhe then received an hurt by the fall, whereof ſhe was not at this very time recovered.

9. One Lacy, who likewiſe confeſſed her ſhare in this witchcraft, now teſtified, that ſhe and the priſoner were once bodily preſent at a witch-meeting in Salem Village, and that ſhe knew the priſoner to be a witch, and to have been at a diabolical ſacrament, and that the priſoner was the undoing of her and her children, by enticing them into the ſnare of the devil.

10. Another Lacy, who alſo confeſſed her ſhare in this witchcraft, now teſtified, that the priſoner was at the witch-meeting in Salem Village, where they had bread and wine adminiſtered to them.

11. In the time of this priſoner's trial, one Suſanna Shelden, in open court, had her hands unaccountably tied together with a wheel-band ſo faſt that without cutting it could not be looſened. It was done by a ſpectre; and the ſufferer affirmed it was the priſoner's.

Memorandum. This *rampant hag*, Martha Carrier, was the perſon of whom the confeſſions

of the witches, and of her own children among the reſt, agreed that the devil had promiſed her ſhe ſhould be queen of hell.

Thus far the account given in *Wonders of the Inviſible World;* in which (ſetting aſide ſuch words as theſe, in the trial of G. B. viz. "They, i. e. the witneſſes, were enough to fix the character of a witch upon him" — in the trial of Biſhop, theſe words, "But there was no need of them," i. e. of further teſtimony — in the trial of How, where it is ſaid, "And there came in teſtimony of preternatural miſchiefs preſently befalling ſome that had been inſtrumental to debar her from the communion, whereupon ſhe was intruding,") Martin is called one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked creatures in the world; in his account of Martha Carrier, he is pleaſed to call her a *rampant hag*, &c.

Theſe expreſſions, as they manifeſt that he wrote more like an advocate than an hiſtorian, ſo alſo that thoſe that were his employers were not miſtaken in their choice of him for that work, however he may have miſſed it in other things: as, in his owning (in the trial of G. B.) that the *teſtimony of the bewitched, and confeſſors, was not enough againſt the accuſed;* for it is known that not only in New-England ſuch evidence has been taken for ſufficient, but alſo in England,

as himſelf there owns, and will alſo hold true of Scotland, &c. they having proceeded upon ſuch evidence, to the taking away of the lives of many. To aſſert that this is not enough, is to tell the world that ſuch executions were but ſo many bloody murders; which ſurely was not his intent to ſay.

His telling that the court began to think that Burroughs ſtept aſide to put on inviſibility, is a rendering them ſo mean philoſophers, and ſuch weak chriſtians, as to be fit to be impoſed upon by any ſilly pretender.

His calling the evidence againſt How trivial, and others againſt Burroughs he accounts no part of his conviction, and that of lifting a gun with one finger, its being not made uſe of as evidence, renders the whole but the more perplext. (Not to mention the many miſtakes therein contained.)

Yet all this (and more that might have been hinted at) does not hinder, but that his account of the manner of trials of thoſe for witchcraft is as faithfully related as any trials of that kind, that were ever yet made public; and it may alſo be reaſonably thought that there was as careful a ſcrutiny, and as unqueſtioned evidences improved, as had been formerly uſed in the trials of others, for ſuch crimes, in other places. Though indeed a ſecond part might be very uſeful, to ſet

forth which was the evidence convictive in theſe trials; for it is not ſuppoſed that romantic or ridiculous ſtories ſhould have any influence; ſuch as biting a ſpectre's finger ſo that the blood flowed out; or ſuch as Shattock's ſtory of twelve years ſtanding, which yet was preſently eighteen years or more, and yet a man of ſo excellent memory as to be able to recall a ſmall difference his wife had with another woman when eighteen years were paſt.

As it is not to be ſuppoſed that ſuch as theſe could influence any judge or jury, ſo not unkindneſs to relations, or God's having given to one man more ſtrength than to ſome others; the overſetting of carts, or the death of cattle; nor yet excreſcences (called teats) nor little bits of rags tied together (called poppets;) much leſs any perſon's illneſs, or having their clothes rent, when a ſpectre has been well hanged; much leſs the burning the mare's fart, mentioned in the trial of How.

None of theſe being in the leaſt capable of proving the indictment, the ſuppoſed criminals were indicted for afflicting, &c. ſuch and ſuch particular perſons by witchcraft, to which none of theſe evidences have one word to ſay; and the afflicted and confeſſors being declared not enough, the matter needs yet further explaining.

But to proceed. The general court having

ſet and enacted laws, particularly one againſt witchcraft, aſſigning the penalty of death to any that ſhall feed, reward or employ, &c. evil ſpirits, though it has not yet been explained what is intended thereby, or what it is to feed, reward or employ devils, &c. yet ſome of the legiſlators have given this, inſtead of an explanation, that they had therein but copied the law of another country.

January 3. By virtue of an act of the general court, the firſt ſuperior court was held at Salem, for the county of Eſſex; the judges appointed were mr. William Stoughton (the lieutenant governor), Thomas Danforth, John Richards, Wait Winthrop, and Samuel Sewall, eſquires; where *ignoramus* was found upon the ſeveral bills of indictment againſt thirty, and *billa vera* againſt twenty-ſix more; of all theſe, three only were found guilty by the jury upon trial, two of which were (as appears by their behaviour) the moſt ſenſeleſs and ignorant creatures that could be found; beſides which, it does not appear what came in againſt thoſe more than againſt the reſt that were acquitted.

The third was the wife of Wardwell, who was one of the twenty executed, and it ſeems they had both confeſſed themſelves guilty; but he, retracting his ſaid confeſſion, was tried and executed. It is ſuppoſed that this woman, fear-

ing her huſband's fate, was not ſo ſtiff in her denials of her former confeſſion, ſuch as it was. Theſe three received ſentence of death.

At theſe trials ſome of the jury made inquiry of the court, what account they ought to make of the ſpectre evidence; and received for anſwer, *As much as of chips in wort.*

January 31, 1692–3. The ſuperior court began at Charleſtown, for the county of Middleſex, mr. Stoughton, mr. Danforth, mr. Winthrop, and mr. Sewall, judges; where ſeveral had *ignoramus* returned upon their bills of indictment, and *billa vera* upon others.

In the time the court ſat, word was brought in, that a reprieve was ſent to Salem, and had prevented the execution of ſeven of thoſe that were there condemned; which ſo moved the chief judge, that he ſaid to this effect, *We were in a way to have cleared the land of theſe, &c. Who it is obſtructs the courſe of juſtice, I know not; the Lord be merciful to the country;* and ſo went off the bench, and came no more that court.

The moſt remarkable of the trials, was of Sarah Daſton. She was a woman of about ſeventy or eighty years of age. To uſher her in to her trial, a report went before, that if there were a witch in the world ſhe was one, as having been ſo accounted of for twenty or thirty years; which drew many people from Boſton, &c. to

hear her trial. There were a multitude of witneſſes produced againſt her; but what teſtimony they gave in ſeemed wholly foreign, as of accidents, illneſs, &c. befalling them, or theirs, after ſome quarrel; what theſe teſtified was much of it of actions ſaid to be done twenty years before that time. The ſpectre evidence was not made uſe of in theſe trials, ſo that the jury ſoon brought her in not guilty. Her daughter and granddaughter, and the reſt that were then tried, were alſo acquitted. After ſhe was cleared, judge Danforth admoniſhed her in theſe words, *Woman, woman, repent; there are ſhrewd things come in againſt you.* She was remanded to priſon for her fees, and there in a ſhort time expired. One of Boſton, that had been at the trial of Daſton, being the ſame evening in company with one of the judges in a public place, acquainted him that ſome, that had been both at the trials at Salem and at this at Charleſtown, had aſſerted, *That there was more evidence againſt the ſaid Daſton than againſt any at Salem;* to which the ſaid judge conceded, ſaying, *that it was ſo.* It was replied by that perſon, *That he dare give it under his hand, that there was not enough come in againſt her to bear a juſt reproof.*

April 25, 1693. The firſt ſuperior court was held at Boſton, for the county of Suffolk; the judges were the lieutenant Governor, mr. Dan-

forth, mr. Richards, and mr. Sewall, eſquires; where (beſides the acquitting mr. John Aldin by proclamation) the moſt remarkable was, what related to Mary Watkins, who had been a ſervant, and lived about ſeven miles from Boſton, having formerly accuſed her miſtreſs of witchcraft, and was ſuppoſed to be diſtracted; ſhe was threatened, if ſhe perſiſted in ſuch accuſations, to be puniſhed. This, with the neceſſary care to recover her health, had that good effect, that ſhe not only had her health reſtored, but alſo wholly acquitted her miſtreſs of any ſuch crimes, and continued in health till the return of the year, and then again falling into melancholy humours, ſhe was found ſtrangling herſelf; her life being hereby prolonged, ſhe immediately accuſed herſelf of being a witch; was carried before a magiſtrate, and committed. At this court a bill of indictment was brought to the grand jury againſt her, and her confeſſion upon her examination given in as evidence; but theſe, not wholly ſatisfied herewith, ſent for her, who gave ſuch account of herſelf, that they, (after they had returned into the court to aſk ſome queſtions) twelve of them agreed to find *ignoramus*, but the court was pleaſed to ſend them out again, who again at coming in returned it as before. She was continued for ſome time in priſon, &c. and at length was ſold to Virginia. About this time the priſoners in all the priſons were releaſed.

To omit here the mentioning of ſeveral wenches in Boſton, &c. who pretended to be afflicted, and accuſed ſeveral, the miniſters often viſiting them, and praying with them, concerning whoſe affliction narratives are in being, in manuſcript; not only theſe, but the generality of thoſe accuſers, may have ſince convinced the miniſters, by their vicious courſes, that they might err in extending too much charity to them.

The concluſion of the whole in the Maſſachuſetts colony was, ſir William Phips, governor, being called home, before he went he pardoned ſuch as had been condemned, for which they gave about thirty ſhillings each to the king's attorney.

In Auguſt, 1697, the ſuperior court ſat at Hartford, in the colony of Connecticut, where one miſtreſs Benom was tried for witchcraft. She had been accuſed by ſome children that pretended to the ſpectral ſight; they ſearched her ſeveral times for teats; they tried the experiment of caſting her into the water, and after this ſhe was excommunicated by the miniſter of Wallinford. Upon her trial nothing material appeared againſt her, ſave ſpectre evidence. She was acquitted, as alſo her daughter, a girl of twelve or thirteen years old, who had been likewiſe accuſed; but upon renewed complaints againſt them, they both flew into New-York government.

Before this, the government iſſued forth the following proclamation:

By the honourable the lieutenant governor, council and aſſembly of his majeſty's province of the Maſſachuſetts-bay, in general court aſſembled.

Whereas, the anger of God is not yet turned away, but his hand is ſtill ſtretched out againſt his people in manifold judgments, particularly in drawing out to ſuch a length the troubles of Europe, by a perplexing war; and more eſpecially reſpecting ourſelves in this province, in that God is pleaſed ſtill to go on in diminiſhing our ſubſtance, cutting ſhort our harveſt, blaſting our moſt promiſing undertakings more ways than one, unſettling us, and by his more immediate hand ſnatching away many out of our embraces by ſudden and violent deaths, even at this time when the ſword is devouring ſo many both at home and abroad, and that after many days of public and ſolemn addreſſing him: and although, conſidering the many ſins prevailing in the midſt of us, we cannot but wonder at the patience and mercy moderating theſe rebukes, yet we cannot but alſo fear that there is ſomething ſtill wanting to accompany our ſupplications; and doubtleſs there are ſome particular ſins, which God is angry with our Iſrael for, that have not been duly ſeen and reſented by us,

about which God expects to be ſought, if ever he turn again our captivity:

Wherefore it is commanded and appointed, that Thurſday, the fourteenth of January next, be obſerved as a day of prayer, with faſting, throughout this province; ſtrictly forbidding all ſervile labour thereon; that ſo all God's people may offer up fervent ſupplications unto him, for the preſervation and proſperity of his majesty's royal perſon and government, and ſucceſs to attend his affairs both at home and abroad; that all iniquity may be put away, which hath ſtirred God's holy jealouſy againſt this land; that he would ſhew us what we know not, and help us wherein we have done amiſs to do ſo no more; and eſpecially that whatever miſtakes on either hand have been fallen into, either by the body of this people, or any orders of men, referring to the late tragedy, raiſed among us by ſatan and his inſtruments, through the awful judgment of God, he would humble us therefor, and pardon all the errors of his ſervants and people, that deſire to love his name; that he would remove the rod of the wicked from off the lot of the righteous; that he would bring in the American heathen, and cauſe them to hear and obey his voice.

Given at Boſton, December 17, 1696, *in the eighth year of his Majeſty's reign.*

ISAAC ADDINGTON, *Secretary.*

Upon the day of the faſt, in the full aſſembly at the ſouth meeting-houſe in Boſton, one of the honourable judges, who had ſat in judicature in Salem, delivered in a paper, and while it was in reading, ſtood up; but the copy being not to be obtained at preſent, it can only be reported by memory to this effect, viz. It was to deſire the prayers of God's people for him and his; and that God having viſited his family, &c. he was apprehenſive that he might have fallen into ſome errors in the matters at Salem, and pray that the guilt of ſuch miſcarriages may not be imputed either to the country in general, or to him or his family in particular.

Some, that had been of ſeveral juries, have given forth a paper, ſigned with their own hands, in theſe words:

"We, whoſe names are under written, being in the year 1692 called to ſerve as jurors in court at Salem on trial of many, who were by ſome ſuſpected guilty of doing acts of witchcraft upon the bodies of ſundry perſons:

"We confeſs that we ourſelves were not capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand, the myſterious deluſions of the powers of darkneſs, and prince of the air; but were, for want of knowledge in ourſelves, and better information from others, prevailed with to take up with ſuch

evidence againſt the accuſed, as, on further conſideration and better information, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the touching the lives of any, (*Deut.* xvii. 6) whereby we fear we have been inſtrumental, with others, though ignorantly and unwittingly, to bring upon ourſelves and this people of the Lord the guilt of innocent blood; which ſin the Lord ſaith, in ſcripture, he would not pardon, (2 *Kings*, xxiv. 4) that is, we ſuppoſe, in regard of his temporal judgments. We do therefore hereby ſignify to all in general (and to the ſurviving ſufferers in ſpecial) our deep ſenſe of, and ſorrow for, our errors, in acting on ſuch evidence to the condemning of any perſon; and do hereby declare, that we juſtly fear that we were ſadly deluded and miſtaken; for which we are much diſquieted and diſtreſſed in our minds; and do therefore humbly beg forgiveneſs, firſt of God for Chriſt's ſake, for this our error; and pray that God would not impute the guilt of it to ourſelves, nor others; and we alſo pray that we may be conſidered candidly, and aright, by the living ſufferers, as being then under the power of a ſtrong and general deluſion, utterly unacquainted with, and not experienced in, matters of that nature.

"We do heartily aſk forgiveneſs of you all, whom we have juſtly offended; and do declare, according to our preſent minds, we would none

of us do ſuch things again on ſuch grounds for the whole world; praying you to accept of this in way of ſatisfaction for our offence, and that you would bleſs the inheritance of the Lord, that he may be entreated for the land.

Foreman,	*Thomas Fiſk*,	*Th. Pearly*, sen.
	William Fiſk,	*John Peabody*,
	John Bacheler,	*Thomas Perkins*,
	Thomas Fiſk, jun.	*Samuel Sayer*,
	John Dane,	*Andrew Eliot*,
	Joſeph Evelith,	*Henry Herrick*, sen."

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE making the foregoing collections of letters, to the rev. mr. Cotton Mather, and others, &c. (which as yet remain unanſwered) a book is come to hand intitled, "THE LIFE OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPS," printed in London, 1697: which book, though it bears not the author's name, yet the ſtyle, manner, and matter are ſuch, that, were there no other demonſtration or token to know him by, it were no witchcraft to determine that the ſaid mr. Cotton Mather is the author of it. But that he, who has *encountered enchantments*, and gone through the *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, and *diſcovered the devil* — that he ſhould ſtep aſide into a remote country to put on inviſibility, though the reaſon of this be not ſo manifeſt, yet it may be thought to be to gratify ſome peculiar fancies. And why may not this be one, that he might with the better grace extol the actions of mr. Increaſe Mather, as agent in England, or as preſident of Harvard college, not forgetting his own?

As to ſir William, it will be generally acknowledged, that notwithſtanding the meanneſs of his parentage and education, he attained to be maſter of a ſhip, and that he had the good hap to find a Spaniſh wreck, not only ſufficient to repair his fortunes, but to raiſe him to a conſiderable figure; which king James ſo far aſſiſted, as to make him a knight; and that after this, in the reign of his preſent majeſty, he took up with thoſe of the agents, that were for accepting the new charter, whereby himſelf became governor.

It is not doubted, but that he aimed at the good of the people; and great pity it is that his government was ſo ſullied (for want of better information and advice from thoſe whoſe duty it was to have given it) by that hobgoblin monſter, witchcraft, whereby this country was nightmared, and haraſſed, at ſuch a rate as is not eaſily imagined.

After which, ſome complaints going to England about mal-adminiſtration, in the leaſt matters comparatively, yet were ſuch, that he was called home to give account thereof, where he ſoon after expired, ſo finiſhing his life and government together.

Death having thus drawn the curtain, forbidding any further ſcene, it might have been prudent to let his duſt remain without diſturbance.

But the ſaid book endeavouring to raiſe a

ſtatue to him, i. e. to aſcribe to him ſuch achievements as either were never performed by him, or elſe unduly aggravated, this has opened the mouth, both of friends and enemies, to recount the miſtakes in the ſaid book; as alſo thoſe miſcarriages wherewith ſir William was chargeable; ſuch as, had it not been for this book, would have been buried with him.

In page 3, ſearch is made over the world, to whom to compare him in his advancement; and moſt unhappily Pizarro is pitched upon, as a match for him; who was a baſtard, dropt in a church-porch, put to ſuck a ſow, and, being grown, ran away, and ſhipt himſelf for America; there ſo proſpered as to command an army; and therewith did mighty things, particularly took Atabalipa, one of the kings of Peru, priſoner; and, having received for his ranſom, in gold and ſilver, to the value of ten millions, perfidiouſly put him to death; and was the death of no man knows how many thouſands of innocents, and is certainly one of the worſt that could have been pitched upon for ſuch compariſon. Though this, together with the rhetorical flouriſhes and affected ſtrains therein, are inſtances of the author's variety of learning; for which he is recommended by theſe three venerable perſons in the entrance to the ſaid book; yet the integrity, prudence and veracity thereof are not ſo

manifeſtly to be ſeen. Paſſing over a multitude of miſrepreſentations that are therein, relating to the acts of ſir William, as not deſigning to rake in the grave of the dead, who is it can ſee the veracity of thoſe words? p. 40. "He lay within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy's cannon, and beat them from thence, and much battered the town, having his ſhip ſhot through in an hundred places, with four and twenty pounders;" when, in the judgment of thoſe preſent, they were not nearer to the enemy than about half or three quarters of a mile; that there might be in all about ſeven ſhot that ſtruck the hull of the veſſel, none of them known to be bigger than 18 pounders, the enemy having but one gun that would carry an eighteen pound ball.

It were a folly, after ſuch aſſertions, to take any notice of this bedecked ſtatue, when there was ſo much the leſs need of erecting one (as is aſſerted p. 108) having already been done ſo well, that even this author himſelf deſpairs of doing it better; and that by a man of ſuch diffuſed and embalmed a reputation, as that his commendations are aſſerted to be enough to immortalize the reputation of ſir William, or whomſoever elſe he ſhould pleaſe to beſtow them upon, viz. that reverend perſon who was the preſident of the only univerſity then in the Engliſh America, p. 109. Which by the way is a much fairer ſtatue,

in honour of the preſident of the univerſity, than that erected for ſir William.

For, notwithſtanding all this noiſe of erecting ſtatues, and the great danger in plucking them down, &c. yet, in p. 89, it is ſaid that even ſir William ſhewed choler enough, leaving it open for others thereby to underſtand, that he was wholly given over to paſſion and choler. And, in p. 92, it is ſaid he did not affect any mighty ſhew of devotion. Theſe expreſſions, with others, may prevail with the unbiaſſed reader to think that theſe builders of ſtatues had ſome further deſign in it, than to blazon the achievements of ſir William Phips, viz. to ſet forth mr. I. Mather's negotiation in England, his procuring the new charter, and ſir William to be governor, and himſelf eſtabliſhed preſident of the college, are the things principally driven at in the book.

Another principal thing is, to ſet forth the ſuppoſed witchcrafts in New England, and how well mr. Mather the younger therein acquitted himſelf.

As to the new charter, for the right underſtanding that affair, it will be needful to ſay, that the people that afterwards ſettled in New-England, being about to leave their native ſoil, and to ſeek (as the providence of God ſhould direct them) a ſettlement in remote regions,

wherein they might beſt ſecure their civil and religious intereſts, before they entered upon this, conſidering it might be needful on many accounts for their future well-being, they obtained a charter to be in the nature of a prime agreement, ſetting forth the ſovereign's prerogative, and the people's privileges; in the enjoyment whereof they long continued, after having purchaſed the title to their lands of the natives of their country, and ſettled themſelves therein, without any charge to the crown.

That clauſe in their charter for this country, viz. "Provided that no other chriſtian prince be prepoſſeſſed of it," being a tacit acknowledgment, that before ſettlement, no one chriſtian prince had any right thereto more than another. During this time of New-England's proſperity, the government here were very ſparing of granting freedoms, except to ſuch as were ſo and ſo qualified: whereby the number of non-freemen being much increaſed, they were very uneaſy, by their being ſhut out from any ſhare in the government, or having any votes for their repreſentatives, &c. It rendered many of them ready to join with ſuch as were undermining the government; not duly conſidering that it had been far more ſafe to have endeavoured to prevail with the legiſlators for an enlargement.

So that it will not be wondered at, that in the

latter end of the reign of king Charles II, and of king James, (when moſt of the charters in England were vacated) this was *quo warranto'd*, and finally judgment entered up againſt it, and the country was put into ſuch a form of government as was moſt agreeable to thoſe times, viz. a legiſlative power was lodged in the governor (or preſident) and ſome few appointed to be of his council, without any regard therein either to the laws of England, or thoſe formerly of this colony: thus rendering the circumſtances of this country beyond compariſon worſe than thoſe of any corporation in England; the people of thoſe corporations being acknowledged ſtill to have a right to *magna charta*, when their particular charters were made void; but here, when *magna charta* has been pleaded, the people have been anſwered, that they muſt not expect that *magna charta* would follow them to the end of the world; not only their eſtates, but their lives, being thereby rendered wholly precarious. And judge Palmer has ſet forth in print, that the king has power to grant ſuch a commiſſion over his people.

It is not hard to imagine, that under ſuch a commiſſion, not only the people were liable to be oppreſſed by taxes, but alſo by confiſcations, and ſeizing of lands, unleſs patents were purchaſed at exceſſive prices, with many other exorbitant innovations.

The firſt that accepted this commiſſion was mr. Dudley, a gentleman born in this country, who did but prepare the way for ſir Edmond Andros; in whoſe time things had grown to ſuch extremities, not only here, but in England, as rendered the ſucceeding revolution abſolutely neceſſary; the revolution here being no other than an acting according to the precedent given by England.

During the time of ſir Edmond's government, mr. Increaſe Mather, teacher of the north church in Boſton, having undergone ſome trouble by fobb-actions laid upon him, &c. (though with ſome difficulty) he made his eſcape, and got paſſage for England, being therein aſſiſted by ſome particular friends; where being arrived, he applied himſelf to king James for redreſs of thoſe evils the country then groaned under; and meeting with a ſeeming kind reception, and some promiſes, it was as much as might at that time be reaſonably expected.

Upon the day of the revolution here, though the greateſt part of the people were for reaſſuming their ancient government, purſuant to his royal highneſs's proclamation, yet matters were ſo clogged, that the people were diſmiſſed without it, who did not in the leaſt miſtruſt but that thoſe, who were put out of the government by mr. Dudley, would reaſſume; mr. Bradſtreet,

who had been then governor, being heard to ſay that evening, when returned home, that had not he thought they would have reaſſumed, he would not have ſtirred out of his houſe that day. But after this, ſome that were driving at other matters, had opportunities by threats and other ways not only to prevail with that good old gentleman, but with the reſt of the government, wholly to decline it; which ſome few obſerving, they took the opportunity to call themſelves a committee of ſafety, and ſo undertook to govern ſuch as would be governed by them.

It has been an obſervation of long continuance, that matters of ſtate ſeldom proſper, when managed by the clergy. Among the oppoſers of the reaſſuming, few were ſo ſtrenuous as ſome of the miniſters; and among the miniſters, none more vehement than mr. Cotton Mather, paſtor of the north church in Boſton, who has charged them, as they would anſwer it another day, not to reaſſume. Among his arguments againſt it, one was, that it would be to put a ſlight upon his father, who, he ſaid, was in England, labouring for a complete reſtoration of charter privileges, not doubting but they would be ſpeedily obtained. Any man that knows New-England cannot but be ſenſible, that ſuch diſcourſes, from ſuch men, have always been very prevalent. And hence it was, that even

thoſe that would think themſelves wronged, if they were not numbered among the beſt friends to New-England, and to its charter, would not ſo much as ſtoop to take it up, when there was really nothing to hinder them from the enjoyment thereof.

After the committee of ſafety had continued about ſeven weeks, or rather after anarchy had been ſo long triumphant, an aſſembly having been called came to this reſolution, and laid it before thoſe gentlemen that had been of the government,—that if they would not act upon the foundation of the charter, that, purſuant to it, the aſſembly would appoint ſome others in that ſtation. The anſwer to which was, that they would accept, &c. And when a declaration, ſignifying ſuch a reaſſuming, was prepared, with the good liking of the deputies, in order to be publiſhed, ſome, that were oppoſers, ſo terrified thoſe gentlemen, that, before publiſhing, it was underwritten that they would not have it underſtood that they did reaſſume charter-government, to the no ſmall amazement of the people, and diſappointment of the deputies, who, if theſe had not promiſed ſo to act, had taken other care, and put in thoſe that would.

The next principal thing done was, they choſe two of their members, viz. one of the upper houſe, the other of the lower, both of them

gentlemen of known integrity as well as ability, to go to England, in order to obtain their reſettlement; and in regard mr. I. Mather was already there, they joined him, as alſo a certain gentleman in London, with theſe other two. Thoſe from hence being arrived in London, they all united for the common intereſt of the country, though without the deſired effect. They were in doubt whether it were beſt to improve their utmoſt for a reverſal of the judgment in a courſe of law, or to obtain it in a parliamentary way, or to petition his majeſty for a new grant of former privileges; and, conſidering that the two firſt might prove dilatory and expenſive, as well as for other reaſons, they reſolved upon the latter, and petitioned his majeſty for the country's reſettlement, with former privileges, and what further additions his majeſty in his princely wiſdom ſhould think fit. Accordingly it pleaſed his majeſty to declare in council his determination, viz. That there ſhould be a charter granted to New-England. But the minutes then taken thereof, and a draught of the new charter, being ſeen, it was the opinion of the two gentlemen ſent from hence, that it were beſt to tarry his majeſty's return from Flanders, in hopes then to obtain eaſe in ſuch things as might be any ways deemed grievous. And this was the reſult of the advice of ſuch as were beſt able to give it,

that they could meet with; and accordingly they wholly deſiſted taking it out of the offices.

But mr. Mather and that other gentleman had, as it is ſaid, other advice given them, which they ſtrenuouſly purſued; and his majeſty having left it (as is aſſerted in the life of ſir William, p. 57) to them to nominate a governor, they pitched upon ſir William Phips, who was then in England, as the moſt likely and able to ſerve the king's intereſts among the people there, under the changes, in ſome things unacceptable, now brought upon them, p. 62; and, without tarrying for the concurrence of thoſe other agents, the charter was taken out, &c.

But mr. Mather, perhaps fearing he ſhould have but ſmall thanks here for his having ſo far an hand in bringing upon them thoſe unacceptable changes, wrote, and cauſed to be printed, an account of his negotiation; but, ſurely by ſome error in the conception, it proved only an embryo, and was ſtifled as ſoon as born. One indeed, deſigned to be as it were a poſthumous, was left with mr. Bailey, formerly of Boſton, and a member of the north church, with a charge not to ſuffer it to be ſeen till he were gone to New-England; yet it ſeems ſome other perſon got a ſight of it, which was the occaſion of mr. Mather's ſending him that minatory epiſtle, by ſome called a bull. But beſides this, for fear of the

worſt, mr. Mather got ſeveral non-con. miniſters to give him a teſtimonial, or letters of commendation, for his great ſervice herein.

In the mean time, mr. Cotton Mather, being in ſome doubt of the ſame thing, handed about a paper of fables; wherein his father, under the name of Mercurius, and himſelf under the name of Orpheus, are extolled, and the great actions of Mercurius magnified; the preſent charter exalted, by trampling on the former, as being very defective, and all thoſe called unreaſonable that did not readily agree with the new one. And indeed the whole country are compared to no better than beaſts, except Mercurius and Orpheus; the governor himſelf muſt not eſcape being termed an elephant, though as good as he was great; and the inferiors told by Orpheus, that for the quiet enjoyment of their land, &c. they were beholding to Mercurius. Though this paper was judged not convenient to be printed, yet ſome copies were taken, the author having ſhewn variety of heathen learning in it.

This is in ſhort that eminent ſervice for which the ſaid mr. I. M. is in the preſent book ſo highly extolled, in ſo many pages, that to repeat them, were to tranſcribe a conſiderable part of the ſaid book.

And no doubt he deſerves as much thanks as dr. Sharp did, when he was ſent by the preſ

bytery of Scotland to procure the ſettlement of their kirk by king Charles II at his reſtoration.

Not but that the preſent charter of New-England is indeed truly valuable, as containing in it peculiar privileges, which abundantly engages this people to pay the tribute of thankfulneſs to his majeſty, and all due ſubjection to whom it ſhall pleaſe him to ſubſtitute as governor over us; and to pray that the King of kings would pour out his richeſt bleſſings upon him, giving him a long and proſperous reign over the nations, under the benign influences whereof oppreſſion and tyranny may flee away.

And if his majeſty hath put this people into the preſent form of government, that they might be in the better condition of defence in a time of war, or that they might better underſtand the privilege of chooſing their own governor by the want of it, and ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed (the war being over) to reſtore to theſe, as has been already granted to the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, the full enjoyment of their ancient privileges, it would be ſuch an obligation upon them to thankfulneſs and duty, as could never be forgotten, nor ſufficiently expreſt, and would rather abate than increaſe charge to the crown.

As to the ſuppoſed witchcrafts in New-England, having already ſaid ſo much thereof, there is the leſs remains to be added.

In the times of ſir Edmond Androſ's government, goody Glover, a deſpiſed, crazy, ill-conditioned old woman, an Iriſh Roman Catholic, was tried for afflicting Goodwin's children; by the account of which trial, taken in ſhort hand for the uſe of the jury, it may appear that the generality of her anſwers were nonſenſe, and her behaviour like that of one diſtracted. Yet the doctors, finding her as ſhe had been for many years, brought her in *compos mentis*; and ſetting aſide her crazy anſwers to ſome enſnaring queſtions, the proof againſt her was wholly deficient. The jury brought her in guilty.

Mr. Cotton Mather was the moſt active and forward of any miniſter in the country in thoſe matters, taking home one of the children, and managing ſuch intrigues with that child, and printing ſuch an account of the whole in his *Memorable Providences*, as conduced much to the kindling of thoſe flames, that in ſir William's time threatened the deſtruction of this country.

King Saul in deſtroying the witches out of Iſrael is thought by many to have exceeded, and in his zeal to have ſlain the Gibeonites wrongfully under that notion; yet went after this to a witch to know his fortune. For his wrongfully deſtroying the Gibeonites (beſides the judgments of God upon the land) his ſons

were hanged; and for his going to the witch, himſelf was cut off. Our ſir William Phips did not do this; but, as appears by this book, had firſt his fortune told him, (by ſuch as the author counts no better) and though he put it off (to his paſtor, who he knew approved not thereof) as if it were brought to him in writing, without his ſeeking, &c. yet by his bringing it ſo far, and ſafe keeping it ſo many years, it appears he made ſome account of it; for which he gave the writer, after he had found the wreck, as a reward, more than two hundred pounds. His telling his wife, (p. 6) that he ſhould be a commander, ſhould have a brick houſe in Green-lane, &c. might be in confidence of ſome ſuch prediction; and that he could foretel to him (p. 90) that he ſhould be governor of New-England, was probably ſuch an one, the ſcriptures not having revealed it. Such predictions would have been counted, at Salem, pregnant proofs of witchcraft, and much better than what were againſt ſeveral that ſuffered there. But ſir William, when the witchcrafts at Salem began (in his eſteem) to look formidable, that he might act ſafely in this affair, aſked the advice of the miniſters in and near Boſton. The whole of their advice and anſwer is printed in *Caſes of Conſcience*, the laſt pages. But leſt the world ſhould be ignorant who it was that drew the

ſaid advice, in this book of the life of ſir William Phips, p. 77, are theſe words, *The miniſters made to his excellency and the council a return, drawn up at their deſire, by mr. Mather the younger, as I have been informed.* Mr. C. M. therein intending to beguile the world, and make them think that another, and not himſelf, had taken that notice of his (ſuppoſed) good ſervice done therein, which otherwiſe would have been aſcribed to thoſe miniſters in general; though indeed the advice then given looks moſt like a thing of his compoſing, as carrying both fire to increaſe, and water to quench, the conflagration; particularly after the devil's teſtimony, by the ſuppoſed afflicted, had ſo prevailed, as to take away the life of one, and the liberty of an hundred, and the whole country ſet into a moſt dreadful conſternation, then this advice is given, uſhered in with thanks for what was already done, and in concluſion putting the government upon a ſpeedy and vigorous proſecution, according to the laws of God, and the wholeſome ſtatutes of the Engliſh nation; ſo adding oil, rather than water, to the flame: for who ſo little acquainted with the proceedings of England, as not to know that they have taken ſome methods, with thoſe here uſed, to diſcover who were witches? The reſt of the advice, conſiſting of cautions and directions, is

inſerted in this book of the life of ſir William: ſo that if ſir William, looking upon the thanks for what was paſt, and exhortation to proceed, went on to take away the lives of nineteen more, this is according to the advice ſaid to be given him by the miniſters; and if the devil, after thoſe executions, be affronted, by diſbelieving his teſtimony, and by clearing and pardoning all the reſt of the accuſed, yet this alſo is, according to that advice, but to caſt the ſcale. The ſame that drew this advice ſaith, in *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, *Enchantments Encountered*, that to have a hand in any thing that may ſtifle or obſtruct a regular detection of that witchcraft, is what we may well with a holy fear avoid: their majeſties' good ſubjects muſt not every day be torn to pieces by horrid witchcraft, and thoſe bloody felons be wholly left unproſecuted; the witchcraft is a buſineſs that will not be ſhammed. The paſtor of that church, of which ſir William was a member, being of this principle, and thus declaring it, after the former advice, no wonder though it caſt the ſcale againſt thoſe cautions. It is rather a wonder that no more blood was ſhed; for if that advice of his paſtor could ſtill have prevailed with the governor, witchcraft had not been ſo ſhammed off as it was. Yet now, in this book of the life of ſir William, the pardon-

ing the priſoners when condemned, and clearing the gaols, is called (p. 82) a vanquiſhing the devil; adding this conqueſt to the reſt of the noble achievements of ſir William, though performed not only without, but directly againſt, his paſtor's advice. But this is not all; though this book pretends to raiſe a ſtatue in honour of ſir William, yet it appears it was the leaſt part of the deſign of the author to honour him, but it was rather to honour himſelf, and the miniſters; it being ſo unjuſt to ſir William, as to give a full account of the cautions given him, but deſignedly hiding from the reader the encouragements and exhortations to proceed, that were laid before him, (under the name of the miniſters' advice;) in effect telling the world that thoſe executions at Salem were without and againſt the advice of the miniſters, expreſt in thoſe cautions, purpoſely hiding their giving thanks for what was already done, and exhorting to proceed; thereby rendering ſir William of ſo ſanguinary a complexion, that the miniſters had ſuch cauſe to fear his going on with the tragedy, though againſt their advice, that they deſired the preſident to write his *Caſes of Conſcience*, &c. To plead miſinformation will not ſalve here, however it may ſeem to palliate other things, but is a manifeſt, deſigned traveſty, or miſrepreſentation, of the miniſter's advice to

ſir William, a hiding the truth, and a wronging the dead, whom the author ſo much pretends to honour; for which the acknowledgments ought to be as univerſal as the offence. But though the miniſters' advice, or rather mr. Cotton Mather's, was perfectly ambidexter, giving as great or greater encouragement to proceed in thoſe dark methods, than cautions againſt them; yet many eminent perſons being accuſed, there was a neceſſity of a ſtop to be put to it. If it be true, what was ſaid at the council-board in anſwer to the commendations of ſir William for his ſtopping the proceedings about witchcraft, viz. that it was high time for him to ſtop it, his own lady being accuſed; if that aſſertion were a truth, then New-England may ſeem to be more beholden to the accuſers for accuſing her, and thereby neceſſitating a ſtop, than to ſir William, or to the advice that was given him by his paſtor.

Mr. Cotton Mather, having been very forward to write books of witchcraft, has not been ſo forward either to explain or to defend the doctrinal part thereof; and his belief (which he had a year's time to compoſe) he durſt not venture, ſo as to be copied. Yet in this book of the life of ſir William he ſufficiently teſtifies his retaining that heterodox belief, ſeeking by frightful ſtories of the ſufferings of ſome, and

the refined ſight of others, &c. (p. 69) to obtrude upon the world, and confirm it in ſuch a belief as hitherto he either cannot or will not defend, as if the blood already ſhed thereby were not ſufficient.

Mr. I. Mather, in his *Caſes of Conſcience*, p. 25, tells of a bewitched eye, and that ſuch can ſee more than others. They were certainly bewitched eyes, that could ſee as well ſhut as open, and that could ſee what never was; that could ſee the priſoners upon the afflicted, harming them, when thoſe whoſe eyes were not bewitched could have ſworn that they did not ſtir from the bar. The accuſers are ſaid to have ſuffered much by biting, (p. 73) and the prints of juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth, as thoſe they accuſed had, would be ſeen on their fleſh; but ſuch as had not ſuch bewitched eyes have ſeen the accuſers bite themſelves, and then complain of the accuſed. It has alſo been ſeen, when the accuſed, inſtead of having juſt ſuch a ſet of teeth, has not had one in his head. They were ſuch bewitched eyes, that could ſee the poiſonous powder (brought by ſpectres, p. 70) and that could ſee in the aſhes the print of the brand, there inviſibly heating to torment the pretended ſufferers with, &c.

Theſe, with the reſt of ſuch legends, have this direct tendency, viz. to tell the world that the

devil is more ready to ſerve his votaries, by his doing for them things above or againſt the courſe of nature, ſhewing himſelf to them and making explicit contracts with them, &c. than the Divine Being is to his faithful ſervants; and that as he is willing, ſo alſo able, to perform their deſires. The way whereby theſe people are believed to arrive at a power to afflict their neighbours, is by a compact with the devil, and that they have a power to commiſſion him to thoſe evils, p. 72. However irrational, or unſcriptural, ſuch aſſertions are, yet they ſeem a neceſſary part of the *faith* of ſuch as maintain the belief of ſuch a ſort of witches.

As the ſcriptures know nothing of a covenanting or commiſſioning witch, ſo reaſon cannot conceive how mortals ſhould by their wickedneſs arrive at a power to commiſſion angels, fallen angels, againſt their innocent neighbours. But the ſcriptures are full in it, and the inſtances numerous, that the Almighty Divine Being has this prerogative, to make uſe of what inſtruments he pleaſeth, in afflicting any, and conſequently to commiſſion devils: and though this word, *commiſſioning*, in the author's former books, might be thought to be by inadvertency, yet now, after he hath been cautioned of it, ſtill to perſiſt in it ſeems highly criminal; and therefore, in the name of God, I

here charge ſuch belief as guilty of ſacrilege in the higheſt nature, and ſo much worſe than ſtealing church plate, &c. as it is a higher offence to ſteal any of the glorious attributes of the Almighty, to beſtow them upon mortals, than it is to ſteal the utenſils appropriated to his ſervice. And whether to aſcribe ſuch power of commiſſioning devils to the worſt of men, be not direct blaſphemy, I leave to others better able to determine. When the Phariſees were ſo wicked as to aſcribe to Beelzebub the mighty works of Chriſt (whereby he did manifeſtly ſhew forth his power and godhead) then it was that our Saviour declared the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt to be unpardonable.

When the righteous God is contending with apoſtate ſinners for their departures from him, by his judgments, as plagues, earthquakes, ſtorms and tempeſts, ſickneſſes and diſeaſes, wars, loſs of cattle, &c. then not only to aſcribe this to the devil, but to charge one another with ſending or commiſſioning thoſe devils to do theſe things, is ſo abominable and ſo wicked, that it requires a better judgment than mine to give it its juſt denomination.

But that chriſtians, ſo called, ſhould not only charge their fellow chriſtians therewith, but proceed to trials and executions; crediting that enemy to all goodneſs, and accuſer of the breth-

ren, rather than believe their neighbours in their own defence; this is ſo diabolical a wickedneſs, as cannot proceed but from a doctrine of devils; how far damnable it is, let others diſcuſs. Though ſuch things were acting in this country in ſir William's time, yet (p. 65) there is a diſcourſe of a guardian angel, as then overſeeing it: which notion, however it may ſuit the faith of Ethnicks, or the fancies of Trithemius, it is certain that the Omnipreſent Being ſtands not in need, as earthly potentates do, of governing the world by vicegerents. And if ſir William had ſuch an inviſible pattern to imitate, no wonder though ſome of his actions were unaccountable, eſpecially thoſe relating to witchcraft: for if there was in thoſe actions an angel ſuperintending, there is little reaſon to think it was Gabriel, or the ſpirit of Mercury; nor Hanael, the angel or ſpirit of Venus; nor yet Samuel, the angel or ſpirit of Mars; names feigned by the ſaid Trithemius, &c. It may rather be thought to be Apollyon, or Abaddon.

Objection. But here it will be ſaid, What, are there no witches? Does not the law of God command that they ſhould be extirpated? Is the command vain and unintelligible?

Sol. For any to ſay that a witch is one that makes a compact with, and commiſſions devils,

&c. is indeed to render the law of God vain and unintelligible, as having provided no way whereby they might be detected, and proved to be ſuch; and how the Jews waded through this difficulty for ſo many ages, without the ſupplement of mr. Perkins and Bernard thereto, would be very myſterious. But to him that can read the ſcriptures without prejudice from education, &c. it will manifeſtly appear that the ſcripture is full and intelligible, both as to the crime, and means to detect the culpable. He that ſhall hereafter ſee any perſon, who, to confirm people in a falſe belief about the power of witches and devils, pretending to a ſign to confirm it; ſuch as knocking off of inviſible chains with the hand, driving away devils by bruſhing, ſtriking with a ſword or ſtick, to wound a perſon at a great diſtance, &c. may (according to that head of mr. Gaule's, quoted by mr. C. M. and ſo often herein before recited, and ſo well-proved by ſcripture) conclude that he has *ſeen witchcraft performed.*

If Balaam became a ſorcerer by ſacrificing and praying to the true God againſt his viſible people, then he that ſhall pray that the afflicted (by their *ſpectral* ſight) may accuſe ſome other perſons (whereby their reputations and lives may be endangered) ſuch will juſtly deſerve the name of a *ſorcerer.* If any perſon pretends to

know more than can be known by human means, and profeſſeth at the ſame time that they have it from the *black man*, *i. e. the devil*, and ſhall from hence give teſtimony againſt the lives of others, they are manifeſtly ſuch as have a familiar ſpirit; and if any, knowing them to have their information from the *black man*, ſhall be inquiſitive of them for their teſtimony againſt others, they therein are dealing with ſuch as have a *familiar ſpirit*.

And if theſe ſhall pretend to *ſee the dead* by their *ſpectral ſight*, and others ſhall be inquiſitive of them, and receive their anſwers what it is the *dead ſay*, and who it is they accuſe, both the one and the other are by ſcripture *guilty of necromancy*.

Theſe are all of them crimes as eaſily proved as any whatſoever, and that by ſuch proof as the law of God requires, ſo that it is *no unintelligible law*.

But if the iniquity of the times be ſuch that theſe criminals not only eſcape, being indemnified, but are encouraged in their wickedneſs, and made uſe of to take away the lives of others, this is worſe than a making the law of God *vain*, it being a rendering of it *dangerous*, againſt the lives of innocents, and without all hopes of better, ſo long as theſe bloody principles remain.

As long as chriſtians do eſteem the *law of*

God to be imperfect, as not deſcribing that crime that it requires to be puniſhed by death:

As long as men ſuffer themſelves to be poiſoned in their education, and be grounded in a *falſe belief by the books of the heathen:*

As long as the *devil* ſhall be believed to have *a natural power to act above and againſt the courſe of nature:*

As long as the *witches* ſhall be believed to have a power to *commiſſion him:*

As long as the *devil's teſtimony*, by the pretended afflicted, ſhall be received as *more valid to condemn*, than their plea of *not guilty* to acquit:

As long as the *accused* ſhall have their *lives and liberties* confirmed and reſtored to them *upon their confeſſing themselves guilty:*

As long as the *accuſed* ſhall be forced to *undergo hardſhips and torments* for their not confeſſing:

As long as *teats* for the *devil to ſuck* are ſearched for upon the bodies of the accuſed, as a token of guilt:

As long as the *Lord's prayer* ſhall be profaned, by being made a teſt, who are culpable:

As long as *witchcraft, ſorcery, familiarſ pirits*, and *necromancy*, ſhall be improved to diſcover who are witches, &c.

So long it may be expected that innocents will ſuffer as witches:

So long God will be daily diſhonoured, and ſo long his judgments muſt be expected to be continued.

GILES CORY.

The files of office contain numerous documents of the abſurd and ridiculous proceedings and teſtimonies, by which the victims of a pretended witchcraft were driven on to their tragical end: of which the following will ſerve as a ſpecimen.

The examination of GILES CORY, at a Court at Salem Village, held by John Hathorn and Jona. Curwin, Eſqrs. April 19, 1692.

Giles Cory, you are brought before authority upon high ſuſpicion of ſundry acts of witchcraft; now tell us the truth in this matter.

I hope through the goodneſs of God I ſhall, for that matter I never had no hand in, in my life.

Which of you have ſeen this man hurt you?

Mary Wolcott, Mercy Lewis, Ann Putman, jr. and Abigail Williams affirmed he had hurt them.

Hath he hurt you too? ſpeaking to Elizabeth Hubbard. She going to anſwer was prevented by a fit.

Benjamin Gold, hath he hurt you?

I have ſeen him ſeveral times, and been hurt after it, but cannot affirm that it was he.

Hath he brought the book to any of you?

Mary Wolcott and Abigail Williams and others affirmed he had brought the book to them.

Giles Cory, they accuſe you, or your appearance, of hurting them, and bringing the book to them. What do you ſay? Why do you hurt them? Tell us the truth.

I never did hurt them.

It is your appearance hurts them, they charge you; tell us what have you done.

I have done nothing to damage them.

Have you never entered into contract with the devil?

I never did.

What temptations have you had?

I never had temptations in my life.

What, have you done it without temptations?

What was the reaſon (ſaid goodwife Bibber) that you were frighted in the cow-houſe? and then the queſtioniſt was ſuddenly ſeized with a violent fit.

Samuel Braybrook, goodman Bibber, and his daughter, teſtified that he had told them this morning that he was frighted in the cow-houſe.

Cory denied it.

This was not your appearance but your perſon, and you told them ſo this morning: why do you deny it?

What did you ſee in the cow-houſe?

I never ſaw nothing but my cattle.

Divers witneſſed that he told them he was frighted.

Well, what do you ſay to theſe witneſſes? What was it frighted you?

I do not know that ever I ſpoke the word in my life.

Tell the truth, what was it frighted you?

I do not know any thing that frighted me.

All the afflicted were ſeized now with fits, and troubled with pinches. Then the court ordered his hands to be tied.

What, is it not enough to act witchcraft at other times, but muſt you do it now in the face of authority?

I am a poor creature, and cannot help it.

Upon the motion of his head again, they had their heads and necks afflicted.

Why do you tell ſuch wicked lies againſt witneſſes, that heard you ſpeak after this manner, this very morning?

I never ſaw any thing but a black hog.

You ſaid that you were ſtopt once in prayer; what ſtopt you?

I cannot tell; my wife came towards me and found fault with me for ſaying living to God and dying to ſin.

What was it frighted you in the barn?

I know nothing frighted me there.

Why here are three witneſſes that heard you ſay ſo to-day.

I do not remember it.

Thomas Gold teſtified that he heard him ſay, that he knew enough againſt his wife, that would do her buſineſs.

What was that you knew againſt your wife?

Why that of living to God, and dying to ſin.

The Marſhall and Bibber's daughter confirmed the ſame, that he ſaid he could ſay that that would do his wife's buſineſs.

I have ſaid what I can ſay to that.

What was that about your ox?

I thought he was hipt.

What ointment was that your wife had when ſhe was ſeized? You ſaid it was ointment ſhe made by major Gidney's direction.

He denied it, and ſaid ſhe had it of goody Bibber, or from her direction.

Goody Bibber ſaid it is not like that ointment.

You ſaid you knew, upon your own knowledge, that ſhe had it of major Gidney.

He denied it.

Did not you ſay, when you went to the ferry with your wife, you would not go over to Boſton now, for you ſhould come yourſelf the next week?

I would not go over, becauſe I had not money.

The Marſhal teſtified he ſaid as before.

One of his hands was let go, and ſeveral were afflicted. He held his head on one ſide, and then the heads of ſeveral of the afflicted were held on one ſide. He drew in his cheeks, and the cheeks of ſome of the afflicted were ſuckt in.

John Bibber and his wife gave in teſtimony concerning ſome temptations he had to make away with himſelf.

How doth this agree with what you ſaid, that you had no temptations?

I meant temptations to witchcraft.

If you can give way to ſelf murther, that will make way to temptation to witchcraft.

Note. There was witneſs by ſeveral, that he ſaid he would make away with himſelf, and charge his death upon his ſon.

Goody Bibber teſtified that the ſaid Cory called ſaid Bibber's huſband, damn'd, deviliſh rogue.

Other vile expreſſions teſtified in open court by ſeveral others.

Salem Village, April 19, 1692.

Mr. Samuel Parris being deſired to take in writing the examination of Giles Cory, delivered it in; and upon hearing the ſame, and ſeeing what we did ſee at the time of his examination, together with the charge of the afflicted perſons againſt him, we committed him to their majeſties' gaol.

JOHN HATHORN.

The Wonders of the Inviſible World:

Being an Account of the

TRYALS

OF

Several Witches

Lately Executed in

NEW-ENGLAND:

And of ſeveral Remarkable Curioſities therein Occurring.

By *COTTON MATHER.*

Publiſhed by the Special Command of his EXCELLENCY the Governour of the Province of the *Maſſachuſetts-Bay* in *New-England.*

The Third Edition.

Printed firſt at *Boſton* in *New England*, and reprinted at *London*, for *John Dunton*, at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey*. 1693.

THE AUTHOR'S DEFENCE.

THIS, as I remember, the Learned *Scribonius*, who reports, That one of his Acquaintance, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Perſon moleſted by *Evil Spirits*, received from thoſe *Evil Spirits* an horrible blow over the Face: And I myſelf expect not few or ſmall Buffetings from Evil Spirits, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to Encounter them. I am far from inſenſible, that at this extraordinary Time of the *Devils coming down in great wrath upon us*, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby *ſet on fire of Hell;* that the various Opinions about the witchcrafts which of later time have troubled us, are maintained by ſome with ſo much cloudy Fury, as if they could never be ſufficiently ſtated, unleſs written in the Liquor wherewith Witches uſe to write their Covenants; and that he who becomes an Author at ſuch a time, had need be *Fenced with Iron, and the ſtaff of a Spear.* The unaccountable Forwardneſs, Aſperity, Un-

treatableneſs, and Inconſiſtency of many Perſons, every Day gives a viſible Expoſition of that paſſage, *An evil ſpirit from the Lord came upon Saul;* and Illuſtration of that Story, *There met him two poſſeſſed with Devils, exceeding fierce, ſo that no man might paſs that way.* To ſend abroad a Book, among ſuch Readers, were a very unadviſed thing, if a Man had not ſuch Reaſons to give, as I can bring, for ſuch an Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be ſaid, *They are all ſo:* No, I hope the Body of this People, are yet in ſuch a Temper, as to be capable of applying their Thoughts, to make a *Right Uſe* of the Stupendious and Prodigious Things that are happening among us; And becauſe I was concern'd, when I ſaw that no abler Hand emitted any Eſſays to engage the Minds of this People, in ſuch holy, pious, fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of his amazing Diſpenſations now upon us; THEREFORE it is, that One of the Leaſt among the Children of *New England*, has here done, what is done. None, but the *Father, who ſees in Secret*, knows the Heart breaking Exerciſes, wherewith I have compoſed what is now going to be expoſed, leſt I ſhould in any one thing miſs of doing my deſigned Service for his Glory, and for his People; but I am now ſomewhat comfortably

aſſured of his favourable acceptance; and, *I will not fear; what can a Satan do unto me?*

Having performed ſomething of what God required, in labouring to ſuit his Words unto his Works, at this day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been ſometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a King, it will eaſily be perceived, that ſome ſubordinate Ends have been conſidered in theſe Endeavours.

I have indeed ſet myſelf to countermine the whole PLOT of the *Devil*, againſt *New England* in every Branch of it, as far as one of my darkneſs, can comprehend ſuch a *work of Darkneſs*. I may add, that I have herein alſo aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another Country, a thouſand Leagues off, where I have it may be, more, or however, more conſiderable Friends, than in my own: And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the beſt terms with my own. But while I am doing theſe things, I have been driven a little to do ſomething likewiſe for myſelf; I mean, by taking off the falſe Reports, and hard Cenſures about my Opinion in theſe Matters, the *Parter's Portions* which my *Purſuit of Peace* has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *unvaried Thoughts* are here publiſhed; and I believe, they will be owned

by moſt of the Miniſters of God in theſe Colonies; nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other ſorts of *Repreſentations.*

In fine: For the Dogmatical part of my Diſcourſe, I want no Defence; for the Hiſtorical part of it, I have a very Great One; the Lieutenant-Governour of *New England* having peruſed it, has done me the Honour of giving me a Shield, under the umbrage whereof I now dare to walk abroad.

Reverend and Dear SIR,

YOU *very much gratify'd me, as well as put a kind Reſpect upon me, when you put into my hands your elaborate and moſt* ſeaſonable *Diſcourſe, entitled,* The Wonders of the Inviſible World, *and having now peruſed ſo fruitful and happy a Compoſure, upon ſuch a Subject, at this Juncture of Time; and* conſidering *the place that I hold in the Court of* Oyer and Terminer, *ſtill* labouring *and* proceeding *in the Trial of the* perſons *accuſed and convicted for Witchcraft, I find that I am more* nearly *and* highly concerned *than as a mere ordinary Reader, to expreſs my* Obligation *and* Thankfulneſs *to you for ſo great* pains; *and cannot but hold myſelf many ways bound even to the utmoſt of what is proper for me, in my preſent publick Capacity* to *declare* my ſingular Appro-

bation *thereof. Such is your* Deſign *moſt plainly expreſſed throughout the whole; ſuch your Zeal for* God, *your* Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom, *your* Faithfulneſs and Compaſſion *to this poor* People; *ſuch the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; ſuch your* Inſtruction and Counſel, *your Care of Truth, your Wiſdom and Dexterity in* allaying and moderating *that among us which needs it; ſuch your clear* diſcerning of Divine Providences and Periods, *now* running on *apace towards their Glorious Iſſues in the World; and* finally, *ſuch your* good News *of* the Shortneſs of the Devils Time, *that all* good men *muſt needs deſire the making of this your Diſcourſe publick to the World; and will* greatly rejoyce, *that the* Spirit of the Lord *has thus* enabled you to lift up a ſtandard *againſt the* Infernal Enemy, *that hath been* coming in like a flood upon us. *I do therefore make it* my particular and earneſt Requeſt unto you, *that as ſoon as may be, you will commit the ſame unto the* Preſs *accordingly. I am,*

Your aſſured Friend,

WILLIAM STROUGHTON.

I live by *Neighbours* that force me to produce theſe undeſerved Lines. But now, as when Mr. *Wilſon* beholding a great Muſter of Soldiers, had it by a Gentleman then preſent, ſaid unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great thing: Here is a*

mighty Body of People; and there is not Seven *of them all, but what loves Mr.* Wilſon. That gracious Man preſently and pleaſantly reply'd; *Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty Body of People, and there is not ſo much as* One *among them all, but Mr.* Wilſon *loves him.* Somewhat ſo: 'Tis poſſible, that among this Body of People, there may be few that love the Writer of this Book; but give me leave to boaſt ſo far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this *Mather* would not ſtudy to ſerve, as well as to love. With ſuch a *Spirit of Love*, is the Book now before us written: I appeal to all this *World;* and if *this* World will deny me the Right of acknowledging ſo much, I appeal to the *other*, that it is *not written with an Evil Spirit:* for which cauſe, I ſhall not wonder, if *Evil Spirits* be exaſperated by what is written, as the *Sadduces* doubtleſs were with what was diſcourſed in the Days of our Saviour. I only demand the *Juſtice*, that others read it, with the ſame Spirit wherewith I writ it.

ENCHANTMENTS ENCOUNTERED.

IT was as long ago as the Year 1637, that a Faithful Miniſter of the Church of *England*, whoſe Name was Mr. *Edward Symons*, did in a Sermon, afterwards Printed, thus expreſs himſelf; *At* New-England, *now the Sun of Comfort begins to appear, and the glorious Day-Star to ſhow it ſelf*,—Sed Venient Annis Sæculæ Seris, *there will come Times in after Ages, when the* Clouds will overſhadow and darken the Skey there. *Many now promiſe to themſelves nothing but ſucceſſive Happineſs there, which for a time through God's Mercy they may enjoy; and I pray God they may a long time: but in this World there is no happineſs perpetual.* An *Obſervation*, or I had almoſt ſaid, an *Inſpiration*, very diſmally now verify'd upon us! It has been Affirm'd by ſome who beſt knew *New-England*, That the World will do *New-England* a great piece of Injuſtice, if it acknowledg not a meaſure of Religion, Loyalty, Honeſty and Induſtry, in the people there, beyond what is to be found

with any other People for the number of them. When I did a few years ago, Publiſh a Book, which mentioned a few memorable Witchcrafts, committed in this Country; the excellent *Baxter*, graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he ſees cauſe to ſay, *If any are Scandalized, that* New-England, *a place of as ſerious Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, ſhould be troubled ſo much with Witches; I think, 'tis no wonder: Where will the Devil ſhew moſt Malice, but where he is hated, and hateth moſt:* And I hope, the Country will ſtill deſerve and anſwer the Charity ſo expreſſed by that Reverend Man of God. Whoſoever travels over this Wilderneſs, will ſee it richly beſpangled with Evangelical Churches, whoſe Paſtors are holy, able, and painful Overſeers of their Flocks, lively Preachers, and vertuous Livers: and ſuch as in their ſeveral Neighbourly Aſſociations, have had their Meetings whereat Eccleſiaſtical Matters of common Concernment are conſidered: *Churches*, whoſe Communicants have been ſeriouſly examined about their Experiences of Regeneration, as well as about their Knowledg, and Belief, and blameleſs Converſation, before their admiſſion to the Sacred Communion; altho others of leſs but hopeful Attainments in Chriſtianity are not ordinarily deny'd Baptiſm for themſelves and theirs; Churches,

which are ſhye of uſing anything in the Worſhip of God, for which they cannot ſee a Warrant of God; but with whom yet the Names of *Congregational*, *Preſbyterian*, *Epiſcopalian*, or *Antipædobaptiſt*, are ſwallowed up in that of *Chriſtian;* Perſons of all thoſe Perſwaſions being taken into our Fellowſhip, when viſible Godlineſs has recommended them; Churches which uſually do within themſelves manage their own Diſcipline under the Conduct of their Elders; but yet call in the help of *Synods* upon Emergencies, or Aggrievancies: *Churches*, Laſtly, wherein Multitudes are growing ripe for Heaven every day; and as faſt as theſe are taken off, others are daily riſing up. And by the Preſence and Power of the Divine Inſtitutions thus maintained in the Country. We are ſtill ſo happy, that I ſuppoſe there is no Land in the Univerſe more free from the debauching, and the debaſing Vices of Ungodlineſs. The Body of the People are hitherto ſo diſpoſed, that *Swearing*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Whoring*, *Drunkenneſs*, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monſter, or a Goblin, in the vulgar Eſtimation. All this notwithſtanding, we muſt humbly confeſs to our God, that we are miſerably degenerated from the firſt Love of our Predeceſſors; however we boaſt ourſelves a little, when Men would go to trample upon us, and we venture to ſay,

Whereinſoever any is bold (*we ſpeak fooliſhly*) *we are bold alſo.* The firſt Planters of theſe Colonies were a choſen Generation of Men, who were firſt ſo pure, as to diſreliſh many things which they thought wanted Reformation elſewhere, and yet withal ſo peaceable, that they embraced a voluntary Exile in a ſqualid, horrid *American* Deſart, rather than to live in Contentions with their Brethren. Thoſe good Men imagined that they ſhould never ſee the Inroads of Profanity, or ſuperſtition: And a famous Perſon returning hence, could in a Sermon before the Parliament, profeſs, *I have now been ſeven Years in a Country, where I never ſaw one Man drunk, or heard one Oath ſworn, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets all the while.* Such great Perſons as *Budæus*, and others, who miſtook Sir *Thomas Moor's* UTOPIA; for a Country really exiſtent, and ſtirr'd up ſome Divines charitably to undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Miſtake; *New-England* was a true *Utopia.* But, alas, the Children and Servants of thoſe old Planters muſt needs afford many degenerate Plants, and there is now riſen up a Number of People, otherwiſe inclined than our *Joſhua's*, and the Elders that out-liv'd them. Thoſe two things our holy Progenitors, and our happy Advantages make Omiſſions of Duty, and ſuch Spiritual Diſorders as

the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as provoking in us, as the moſt flagitious Wickedneſs committed in other places; and the Miniſters of God are accordingly ſevere in their Teſtimonies: But in ſhort, thoſe Intereſts of the Goſpel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into theſe Ends of the Earth, have been too much neglected and poſtponed, and the Attainments of an handſome Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes that have not fallen into Exorbitances of wickedneſs; and ſome, eſpecially of our young Ones, when they have got abroad from under the Reſtraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicicious. Hence 'tis that the Happineſs of *New-England* has been but for a time, as it was foretold, and not for a long time, as has been deſir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity has long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reaſon imaginable to aſcribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our manifold *Apoſtacies*; we make no right uſe of our Diſaſters. If we do not, *Remember whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the firſt Works.* But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Conſideration with us: There is a further Cauſe of our Afflictions, whoſe due muſt be given him.

§ II. The *New-Englanders* are a People of

God ſettled in thoſe which were once the *Devils* Territories; and it may eaſily be ſuppoſed that the *Devil* was exceedingly diſturbed, when he perceived ſuch a People here accompliſhing the Promiſe of old made unto our Bleſſed Jeſus, *That he ſhould have the utmoſt parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion.* There was not a greater Uproar among the *Epheſians*, when the Goſpel was firſt brought among them, than there was among *The Powers of the Air* (after whom thoſe *Epheſians* walked) when firſt the *Silver Trumpets* of the Goſpel here made the *Joyful Sound.* The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all ſorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and ſo much of the Church, as was *Fled into this Wilderneſs*, immediately found, *The Serpent caſt out of his Mouth a Flood for the carrying of it away.* I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* uſed for the Unſettling of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employed for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted, Caſting out the Heathen, and preparing a Room before it, and cauſing it to take deep Root, and fill the Land, ſo that it ſent its Boughs unto the* Atlantic *Sea* Eaſtward, *and its Branches unto the* Connecticut *River* Weſtward, *and the Hills were covered with the ſhadow thereof.* But, All thoſe Attempts of Hell have hitherto been Abortive, many an *Ebenezer*

has been Erected unto the Praiſe of God, by his Poor People here; and *Having obtained Help from God, we continue to this Day:* Wherefore the Devil is now making one Attempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprizing, more ſnarl'd with unintelligible Circumſtances than any that we have hitherto Encountred; an Attempt ſo *Critical*, that if we get well through, we ſhall ſoon Enjoy *Halcyon* Days, with all the *Vultures of Hell Trodden under our Feet.* He has wanted his *Incarnate Legions* to Perſecute us, as the People of God have in the other Hemiſphere been perſecuted; he has therefore drawn forth his more *Spiritual* ones to make an Attacque upon us. We have been adviſed by ſome Credible Chriſtians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accuſed of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice of, *An Horrible PLOT againſt the Country by* WITCHCRAFT *and a Foundation of* WITCHCRAFT *then laid, which if it were not ſeaſonably diſcovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country.* And we have now with Horror ſeen the *Diſcovery* of ſuch a *Witchcraft!* An Army of *Devils* is horribly broke in upon the place which is the *Center*, and after a ſort, the *Firſt born* of our *Engliſh* Settlements: and the Houſes of the Good People there are

filled with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Inviſible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the Miſchiefs there Endeavoured, and ſince in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its Progreſs into ſome other places, where other Perſons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. Theſe our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they become *Infected* and *Infeſted* with theſe *Dæmons*, arrive to a Capacity of Diſcerning thoſe which they conceive the *Shapes* of their Troubles; and notwithſtanding the Great and Juſt Suſpicion, that the *Dæmons* might Impoſe the *Shapes* of Innocent Perſons in their *Spectral Exhibitions* upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no ſmall part of the *Witch-Plot* in the iſſue) yet many of the Perſons thus Repreſented, being Examined, ſeveral of them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *Witchcraft:* Yea, more than One. *Twenty* have *Confeſſed*, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil ſhow'd them, and Engaged in his Helliſh Deſign of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land. *We* know not, at leaſt I know not, how far the Deluſions of Satan may be Interwoven into ſome Circumſtances of the Confeſſions; but one would think all the Rules of Underſtanding Humane Affairs are at an End, If after ſo many moſt Voluntary

Harmonious Confeſſions, made by Intelligent Perſons of all Ages in ſundry Towns, at ſeveral Times, we muſt not Believe the main ſtrokes wherein thoſe Confeſſions agree: Eſpecially when we have a Thouſand preternatural Things every day before our Eyes, wherein the Confeſſors do acknowledg their Concernment, and give Demonſtration of their being ſo Concerned. If the Devils now can ſtrike the Minds of Men with any Poyſons of ſo fine a Compoſition and Operation, that ſcores of Innocent People ſhall Unite, in Confeſſions of a Crime, which we ſee actually Committed, it is a thing prodigious beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no leſs than a ſort of a Diſſolution upon the World. Now, by theſe Confeſſions 'tis Agreed, That the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of Witches in the Country, and by the help of Witches has dreadfully increaſed that Knot: That theſe Witches have driven a Trade of Commiſſioning their Confederate Spirits, to do all ſorts of Miſchiefs to the Neighbours, whereupon there have enſued ſuch Miſchievous Conſequences upon the Bodies and Eſtates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwiſe be accounted for: Yea, That at prodigious Witch-Meetings, the Wretches have proceeded ſo far, as to Concert and Conſult the Methods of Rooting out the Chriſtian Religion from this Coun-

trey, and ſetting up inſtead of it, perhaps a more groſs Diaboliſm, that ever the World ſaw before. And yet it will be a thing little ſhort of Miracle, if in ſo ſpread a buſineſs as this the Devil ſhould not get in ſome of his Judges, to confound the Diſcovery of all the reſt.

§ III. Doubtleſs, the Thoughts of many will receive a great Scandal againſt *New-England*, from the Number of Perſons that have been Accuſed, or Suſpected, for *Witchcraft*, in this Country: But it were eaſie to offer many things, that may Anſwer and Abate the Scandal. If the holy Ghoſt ſhould any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked *Scholars* into *Witchcraft*, and then by their Aſſiſtance to Range with their *Poiſonous Inſinuations* among Ignorant, Envious, Diſcontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into ſome ſudden *Act*, whereby the Toyls of Hell ſhall be perhaps inextricably caſt over them: what Country in the World would not afford *Witches*, numerous to a Prodigy? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, yea, and *England* it ſelf, as well as the Province of *New-England*, have had their Storms of *Witchcrafts* breaking upon them, which have made moſt Lamentable Devaſtations: which alſo I wiſh, may be *the Laſt*. And it is not uneaſie to be

imagined, That God has not brought out all the *Witchcrafts* in many other Lands, with ſuch a ſpeedy, dreadful, deſtroying *Jealouſie*, as burns forth upon ſuch *High Treaſons*, committed here in *A Land of uprightneſs:* Tranſgreſſors may more quickly here than elſewhere become a Prey to the Vengeance of him, *Who has Eyes like a Flame of Fire*, and, *who walks in the midſt of the Golden Candleſticks.* Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occaſion inſult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happened at *Loim*, in the Dutchy of *Gulic*, where a Popiſh Curate having ineffectually try'd many Charms to Eject the Devil out of a Damſel there poſſeſſed, he paſſionately bid the Devil come out of her into himſelf; but the anſwered him, *Quid mihi Opus, eſt eum centare, quem Noviſſimo die, Jure Optimo ſum poſſeſſurus?* That is, *What need I meddle with one whom I am ſure to have, and hold at the Laſt-day as my own for ever.*

An Hortatory and Neceſſary Addreſs, *To a Country now Extraordinarily Alarum'd by the* Wrath *of the* Devil. *'Tis this.*

LET us now make a good and right uſe of the prodigious *Deſcent* which the *Devil* in *Great Wrath* is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an Orator call'd the Town together, crying out, *Concurrite Cives, Dilapſa ſunt veſtra Mœnia!* that is *Come together, Neighbours, your Town Walls are fallen down!* But ſuch is the Deſcent of the Devil at this day upon our ſelves, that I may truly tell you, *The Walls of the whole World are broken down!* The uſual *Walls* of Defence about Mankind have ſuch a Gap made in them, that the very *Devils* are broke in upon us, to ſeduce the *Souls*, torment the *Bodies*, ſully the *Credits*, and conſume the *Eſtates* of our Neighbours, with Impreſſions both as *real* and as *furious*, as if the *Inviſible* World were becoming *Incarnate*, on purpoſe for the vexing of us. And what uſe ought now to be made of ſo tremendous a Diſpenſation? We are engaged in a *Faſt* this day; but ſhall we try to fetch *Meat out of the Eater*, and make the *Lion* to afford ſome *Honey* for our *Souls?*

That the Devil is *come down unto us with*

great Wrath, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many ways, for many years hath the Devil been aſſaying to extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus here. *New England* may complain of the Devil, as in *Pſal.* 129. 1, 2. *Many a time have they afflicted me, from my Youth, may* New England *now ſay; many a time have they afflicted me from my Youth, yet they have not prevailed againſt me.* But now there is a more than ordinary *Affliction* with which the *Devil* is Galling of us; and ſuch an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The things confeſſed by *Witches*, and the things endured by *Others*, laid together, amount unto this account of our affliction. The *Devil*, exhibiting himſelf ordinarily as a ſmall *Black Man*, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious Creatures, to lift themſelves in his horrid Service, by entring their Names in a Book by him tendered unto them. Theſe *Witches*, whereof above a Score have now *Confeſſed and ſhown their Deeds*, and ſome are now tormented by the Devils for *Confeſſing*, have met in Helliſh *Randezvouzes*, wherein the Confeſſors do ſay, they have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptiſm* and the *Supper* of our Lord. In theſe helliſh Meetings, theſe Monſters have aſſociated themſelves to do no leſs a thing than *to deſtroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in theſe parts*

of the World; and in order hereunto, Firſt, they each of them have their *Spectres* or Devils, commiſſion'd by them, and repreſenting of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By theſe wicked *Spectres* they ſieze poor People about the Country, with various and bloody *Torments;* and of thoſe evidently preternatural Torments there are ſome have dy'd. They have bewitched ſome, even ſo far as to make *Self-deſtroyers:* And others are in many Towns here and there languiſhing under their *Evil hands.* The People thus afflicted, are miſerably ſcratched and bitten, ſo that the Marks are moſt viſible to all the World, but the Cauſes utterly inviſible: And the ſame inviſible Furies do moſt viſibly ſtick Pins into the Bodies of the Afflicted, and *ſcale* them, and hideouſly diſtort and diſjoint all their Members, beſides a thouſand others of Plagues beyond theſe, of any natural Diſeaſes which they give unto them. Yea, they ſometimes drag the poor People out of their Chambers, and carry them over Trees and Hills for divers Miles together. A large part of the Perſons tortured by theſe Diabolical *Spectres*, are horribly tempted by them, ſometimes with fair Promiſes, and ſometimes with hard Threatnings, but always with felt Miſeries to ſign the *Devils Laws* in a Spectral Book laid before them; which two or three of theſe poor Suffer-

ers, being by their tireſome Sufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been releaſed from all their Miſeries, and they appeared in *Spectre* then to torture thoſe that were before their Fellow-Sufferers. The *Witches*, which by their Covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of *Spectres*, are often-times by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their Conſent, for the moleſtation of ſome, which they had no mind otherwiſe to fall upon; and cruel Depradations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Proſecution of theſe Witchcrafts, among a thouſand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the moſt ſubſtantial and corporeal Inſtruments of Torture with Inviſibility, while the Wounds thereby given have been the moſt palpable things in the World; ſo that the Sufferers aſſaulted with Inſtruments of Iron, wholly unſeen by the Standers-by, though, to their Coſt, ſeen by themſelves, have, upon ſnatching, wreſted the Inſtruments out of the *Spectres* hands, and every one has then immediately not only *beheld*, but *handled* an Iron Inſtrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. Theſe wicked *Spectres* have proceeded ſo far, as to ſteal ſeveral quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Money has, before ſufficient Spectators, been dropt out of the Air into the hand of the

Sufferers, while the *Spectres* have been urging them to ſubſcribe their *Covenant with Death.* In ſuch extravagant ways have theſe Wretches propounded the *Dragooning* of as many as they can in their own Combination, and the *Deſtroying* of others, with lingring, ſpreading, deadly Diſeaſes, till our Countrey ſhould at laſt become to hot for us. Among the Ghaſtly Inſtances of the *Succeſs* which thoſe Bloody Witches have had, we have ſeen even ſome of their own Children ſo dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy it is found the *Imps* have ſucked them, and rendred them venemous to a Prodegy. We have alſo ſeen the Devils firſt Batteries upon the Town, where the firſt church of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing thoſe diſtractions, which have almoſt ruin'd the Town. We have ſeen likewiſe the Plague reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near, where the Houſes of good Men have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the Deſcent, which it ſeems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Deſcent the more formidable, is, The *multitude* and *quality* of Perſons accuſed of an Intereſt in this *Witchcraft*, by the Efficacy of the *Spectres* which take their Name and Shape upon them; cauſing very many good and wiſe Men to fear, That many *innocent*, yea, and ſome *ver-*

tuous Perſons, are by the Devils in this matter impoſed upon; That the Devils have obtained the Power, to take on them the likeneſs of harmleſs People, and in that likeneſs to afflict other people, and be ſo abuſed by Preſtigious *Dæmons*, that upon their look or touch the afflicted ſhall be odly affected. Arguments from the *Providence of God*, on the one ſide, and from our *Charity* towards *Man* on the other ſide, have made this now to become a moſt agitated Controverſie among us. There is an *Agony* produced in the minds of Men, leſt the Devil ſhould ſham us with *Devices*, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practiſed upon the World. The whole buſineſs is become hereupon ſo *ſnarled*, and the determination of the Queſtion one way or another, ſo *diſmal*, that our Honourable Judges have a room for *Jehoſhaphat's* Exclamation, *We know not what to do!* They have uſed, as Judges have heretofore done, the *Spectral Evidences*, to introduce their further Enquiries into the *Lives* of the perſons accuſed; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been ſo ſtrengthened with *other Evidences*, that ſome of the *Witch Gang* have been fairly executed. But what ſhall be done, as to thoſe againſt whom the *Evidence* is chiefly founded in the *dark World*? Here they do ſolemnly demand our Addreſſes to the

Father of Lights on their behalf. But in the mean time, the Devil improves the *Darkneſs* of this Affair, to puſh us into a *Blind mans Buffet*, and we are even ready to be *ſinfully*, yea, hotly and madly, mauling one another in the dark.

The conſequence of theſe things every *conſiderate man* trembles at, and the more, becauſe the frequent cheats of Paſſion and Rumour, do precipitate ſo many, that I wiſh I could ſay, The moſt were *conſiderate*.

But that which carries on the formidableneſs of our Trials, unto that which may be called, *A wrath unto the uttermoſt*, is this: It is not without the *wrath* of the Almighty *God* himſelf, that the *Devil* is permitted thus to come down upon us in *wrath*. It was ſaid in *Iſa.* 9. 19. *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts the Land is darkned.* Our Land is *darkned* indeed, ſince the *Powers of Darkneſs* are turned in upon us: 'Tis a dark time, yea, a black night indeed, now the *Ty-dogs* of the Pit are abroad among us: but, *it is through the wrath of the Lord of Hoſts!* Inaſmuch as the *Firebrands* of *Hell* it ſelf are uſed for the ſcorching of us with cauſe enough may we cry out, *What means the heat of this Anger?* Bleſſed Lord! Are all the other Inſtruments of thy Vengeance too good for the chaſtiſement of ſuch Tranſgreſſors as we are? Muſt the very *Devils* be ſent out of *their own place*, to be our

Troublers? Muſt we be laſh'd with *Scorpions*, fetch'd from the *Place of Torment?* Muſt this *Wilderneſs* be made a Receptacle for the *Dragons of the Wilderneſs?* If a *Lapland* ſhould nouriſh in it vaſt numbers, the Succeſſors of the old *Biarmi*, who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or ſell Winds to Mariners, and have their *Familiar Spirits* which they bequeath to their Children when they die, and by their enchanted Kettle-drums can learn things done a thouſand Leagues off. If a *Swedeland* ſhould afford a Village, where ſome Score of Haggs may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits*, but alſo by their Enchantments drag many ſcores of poor Children out of their Bedchambers, to be ſpoiled at thoſe Meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of ſo much wonder! But that *New-England* ſhould this way be haraſſed! They are not *Chaldeans*, that *Bitter and Haſty Nation*, but they are *Bitter and Burning Devils:* They are not *Swarthy Indians*, but they are *Sooty Devils;* that are let looſe upon us. Ah, poor *New-England!* muſt the Plague of *Old Egypt* come upon thee? Whereof we read in *Pſ.* 78. 49. *He caſt upon them the fierceneſs of his Anger, Wrath and Indignation, and Trouble, by ſending Evil Angels among them.* What, O what muſt next be looked for? Muſt that which is there next mentioned be next encoun-

tred? *He ſpared not their Soul from Death, but gave their Life over to the Peſtilence.* For my part, when I conſider what *Melancton* ſays, in one of his Epiſtles, *That theſe Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodigies;* and when I conſider, how often People have been by *Spectres* called upon, juſt before their Deaths, I am verily afraid, leſt ſome waſting *Mortality* be among the things, which this Plague is the *Forerunner* of. I pray God prevent it!

But now, *What ſhall we do?*

I. Let the Devils *coming down in great wrath* upon us, cauſe us to *come down in great grief* before the Lord. We may truly and ſadly ſay, *We are brought very low! Low* indeed, when the Serpents of the Duſt are crawling and coyling about us, and inſulting over us. May we not ſay, *We are all in the Belly of Hell*, when *Hell it ſelf* is feeding upon us? But how *low* is that! O let us then moſt penitently lay our ſelves very Low before the God of Heaven who has thus abaſed us. When a truculent *Nero*, a *Devil of a Man*, was turned in upon the *World*, it was ſaid in 1 Pet. 5. 6. *Humble your ſelves under the mighty hand of God.* How much more now ought we to *humble our ſelves* under that *Mighty Hand of that God*, who indeed has the *Devil* in a *Chain*, but has horribly lengthened out the *Chain?* When the old People of God heard any *Blaſ-*

phemies, tearing of his ever-bleſſed Name to pieces, they were to rend their *Cloaths* at what they heard. I am ſure that we have cauſe to *rend our hearts this day*, when we ſee what an high Treaſon has been committed againſt the moſt High God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may ſay; and ſhall we not be *humbled* when we ſay it? *We have ſeen an horrible thing done in our Land!* O 'tis a moſt humble thing to think, that ever there ſhould be ſuch an Abomination among us, as for a Crew of Humane Race to Renounce their *Maker*, and to unite with the *Devil*, for the troubling of Mankind; and for People to be (as is by ſome confeſſ'd) *Baptiſed by a Fiend* uſing this Form upon them, *Thou art mine, and I have a full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an Helliſh *Bread* and *Wine*, by that Fiend adminiſtred to them. It was ſaid in *Deut.* 18. 10, 11, 12. *There ſhall not be found among you an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Conſulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer; For all that do theſe things are an Abomination to the Lord, and becauſe of theſe Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee.* That *New England* now ſhould have theſe *Abominations* in it, yea, that ſome of no mean *Profeſſion*, ſhould be found guilty of them: Alas, what *Humiliations* are we all hereby

obliged unto? O 'tis a defiled Land wherein we live; Let us be humbled for theſe *Defiled Abominations*, leſt we be driven out of our Land. It's very *humbling* thing to think, what Reproaches will be caſt upon us for this matter among *the Daughters of the Philiſtins*. Indeed, enough might eaſily be ſaid for the *Vindication* of this Country from the *Singularity* of this Matter, by ripping up what has been diſcovered in others. *Great Brittain* alone, and this alſo in our days of *Greateſt Light*, has had that in it, which may divert the Calumnies of an ill-Natured World, from centring here. They are Words of the devout Biſhop *Hall*, *Satans prevalency in this Age is moſt clear, in the marvellous number of Witches abounding in all places. Now hundreds are diſcovered in one Shire; and, if Fame deceives us not, in a Village of Fourteen Houſes in the North, are found ſo many of this damned Brood; yea, and thoſe of both Sexes, who have profeſſed much Knowledg, Holineſs and Devotion, are drawn into this damnable Practice.* I ſuppoſe the Doctor in the firſt of thoſe Paſſages, may refer to what happened in the year 1645, when ſo many Vaſſals of the Devil were detected, that there was *Thirty* try'd at one time, whereas about *Fourteen* were hanged, and an hundred more detained in the Priſons of *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*. Among other things which many of theſe ac-

knowledged; one was, That they were to undergo certain Puniſhments, if they did not ſuch and ſuch Hurts as were appointed them. And, amongſt the reſt that were then Executed, there was an old Perſon called *Lowis*, who confeſſed, That he had a couple of Imps, whereof one was always putting him upon the doing of Miſchief. Once particularly, that *Imp* calling for his conſent ſo to do, went immediately and ſunk a Ship, then under Sail. I pray, let not *New-England* become of an unſavoury and ſulphurous Reſentment in the Opinion of the World abroad, for the doleful things which are now fallen out among us, while there are ſuch Hiſtories of other places abroad in the World. Nevertheleſs, I am ſure that we, the People of *New-England*, have cauſe enough to *humble* our ſelves under our moſt *humbling* Circumſtances. We muſt no more be *haughty, becauſe of the Lord's holy Mountain among us.* No, it becomes us rather to be *humbled, becauſe we have been ſuch an Habitation of unholy Devils.*

II. Since the Devil is *come down in great wrath upon us*, let not us in our *great wrath* againſt one another provide a *Lodging* for him. It was a moſt wholeſome Caution, in *Eph.* 4. 26, 27, *Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath. Neither give place to the Devil.* The Devil is come down to ſee what *Quarter* he ſhall find

among us: And if his coming down do now fill us with *wrath* againſt one another; and if betwixt the Cauſe of the Sufferers on one hand, and the Cauſe of the Suſpected on the other, we carry things to ſuch Extreams of *Paſſion* as are now gaining upon us, the Devil will bleſs himſelf to find ſuch a convenient Lodging as we ſhall therein afford unto him. And it may be that the *wrath* which we have had againſt one another, has had more than a little Influence upon the coming down of the Devil in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been Devils one unto another for Sladerings, for Back-bitings, for Animoſities? For this, among other Cauſes, perhaps, God has permitted the Devils to be worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all *Deviliſm*, when the *Devil* himſelf is falling upon us: And it is *no time* for us to be cenſuring and reviling one another, with a *Diviliſh wrath*, when the *wrath* of the *Devil* is annoying us. The way for us to out-wit the Devil in the Wiles with which he now vexes us, would be for us to joyn as one Man in our Cries to God, for the directing and iſſuing of this Thorny Buſineſs; but if we do not *lift up* our Hands to Heaven *without wrath*, we cannot then do it *without doubt*, of ſpeeding in it. I am aſhamed when I read *French* Authors giving this Char-

acter of *Engliſh-men.* [*Ils ſe haiſſent Les uns les autres, & ſont en Diviſion continuelle.*] *They hate one another, and are always Quarrelling one with another.* And I ſhall be much more aſhamed, if it become the Character of *New-Englanders;* which is indeed what the Devil would have. *Satan* would make us *bruiſe* one another, by breaking of the Peace among us: But O let us diſappoint them. We read of a thing that ſometimes happens to the *Devil*, when he is foaming with his *wrath*, in *Matth.* 12. 43. *The unclean Spirit ſeeks reſt, and finds none.* But we give *reſt* unto the *Devil*, by *wrath* one against another. If we would lay aſide all fierceneſs and keeneſs, in the Diſputes which the Devil has raiſed among us; and if we would uſe to one another none but the *ſoft Anſwers, which turn away wrath;* I ſhould hope that we might light upon ſuch Counſels, as would quickly extricate us out of our *Labyrinths.* But the old Incendiary of the World is come from Hell, with Sparks of Hell-Fire flaſhing on every ſide of him; and we make ourſelves Tynder to the Sparks. When the Emperor *Henry* III. kept the Feaſt of *Pentecoſt*, at the City of *Mentz*, there aroſe a Diſſenſion among ſome of the *People* there, which came from *Words to Blows*, and at laſt it paſſed on to the *ſhedding of Blood.* After the *Tumult* was over, when they came to that

Clauſe in their Devotions, *Thou haſt made this Day glorious;* the Devil, to the inexpreſſible Terror of that vaſt Aſſembly, made the *Temple* ring with that Out-cry, *But I have made this Day Quarrelſome:* We are *truly* come into a day, which by being well managed, might be very *Glorious* for the Exterminating of thoſe *Accurſed Things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Proſperity. But if we make this day quarrelſome, through any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, *O Lord, my fleſh trembles for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments. Eraſmus*, among other Hiſtorians, tells us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a Witch, or Devil, *appear'd on the top of a Chimney*, threatening to ſet the Town on Fire: And at length, ſcattering a Pot of Aſhes abroad, the Town was preſently and horribly *burnt unto the Ground.* Methinks I ſee the Spectres from the *top of the Chimneys* to the Northward, threatening to ſcatter Fire about the *Country;* but let *us quench that Fire* by the moſt Amicable Correſpondencies; leſt, as the Spectres have, they ſay, already moſt literally *burnt ſome of our Dwellings*, there do come forth a *further fire* from the Brambles of Hell, which may terribly *Devour us.* Let *us* not be like a *Troubled Houſe*, altho we are ſo *much haunted by the Devils.* Let *our long ſuffering* be a *well placed piece of Armour about us*, againſt the Fiery Darts of the wicked

ones. Hiſtory informs us, That ſo *long ago* as the year 858: a certain *Peſtilent and Malignant* ſort of a *Dæmon*, moleſted *Chaumont* in *Germany*, with all ſorts of Methods to ſtir up ſtrife among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detected Villanies, he branded People with all kind of *Infamies*. He *incenſed* the Neighbourhood againſt *One Man* particularly, as *the Cauſe of all the Miſchiefs;* who yet proved himſelf *innocent.* He threw *Stones* at the *Inhabitants*, and at length burnt their Habitations, till the Commiſſion of *the Dæmon* could go no further. I ſay, *let us be well aware leſt ſuch* Dæmons *do come hither alſo.*

III. Inaſmuch as the Devil is come down in *great Wrath*, we had need labour with all the care and ſpeed we can, to divert the great *Wrath of Heaven* from coming at the ſame time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions been calling us to *a Reformation of our provoking Evils*, as the only way to avoid that *Wrath* of his, which does not *only threaten*, but *conſume us.* 'Tis becauſe we have been Deaf to thoſe Calls that we are now by a provoked God laid open to the *Wrath of the Devil himſelf.* It is ſaid in *Prov.* 16. 7. *When a mans ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is

our grand Enemy; and tho we would not be at peace *with* him, yet we would be at peace from him; that is, we would have him unable to disquiet *our Peace*. But inaſmuch as the *wrath* which we endure from this Enemy, will allow us no *peace*, we may be ſure *our ways have not pleaſed the Lord*. It is becauſe we have *broken the Hedge of God's Precepts*, that the Hedge of God's *Providence* is not ſo entire as it uſes to be about us; but *Serpents* are *biting* of us. O let us then ſee our ſelves, to make our *peace* with our God, whom we have *diſpleaſed* by our Iniquities: And let us not imagine that we can encounter the *Wrath of the Devil*, while there is the *Wrath of God Almighty* to ſet that Maſtiff upon us. REFORMATION, REFORMATION, has been the repeated Cry of all the Judgments that have hitherto been upon us; becauſe we have been as *deaf Adders* thereunto; the *Adders* of the Infernal Pit are now hiſſing about us. At length, as it was of old ſaid, *Luke* 60. 13. *If one went unto them from the dead, they will repent;* even ſo, there are ſome come unto us from the damned. The Great God has looſed the Bars of the Pit, ſo that many damned Spirits are come in among us, to make us repent of our Miſdemeanors. The Means which the Lord had formerly employ'd for our awakening, were ſuch, that he might well have ſaid,

What could I have done more? And yet after all, he has done more, in ſome regards, than was ever done for the awakening of any People in the World. The things now done to awaken our Enquiries after our provoking Evils, and our Endeavours to reform thoſe Evils, are moſt extraordinary things; for which cauſe I would freely ſpeak it, if we now do not ſome extraordinary things in ſpeedily returning to God, we are the moſt incurable; and I wiſh it be not quickly ſaid, the moſt miſerable People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a time for all People to do ſomething *extraordinary*, *in ſearching and trying of their ways*, *and in turning to the Lord.* It is an extraordinary rate of *circumſpection*, and *Spiritual mindedneſs*, that we ſhould all now maintain a *walk with God.* At ſuch a time as this, ought not Magiſtrates to do ſomething extraordinary in promoting of what is laudable, and in reſtraining and chaſtiſing of *Evil doers?* At ſuch a time as this, ought not *Miniſters* to do ſomething extraordinary in pulling the Souls of Men out of the Snares of the Devil, not only by publick *Preaching*, but by perſonal Viſits and Counſels, *from houſe to houſe.* At ſuch a time as this ought not *Churches* to do ſomething extraordinary in renewing of their Covenants, and in remembring and reviving the Obligations of what they have renewed. Some admi-

rable Deſigns about the Reformation of Manners, have lately been on foot in the *Engliſh* Nation, in purſuance of the moſt excellent Admonitions which have been given for it, by the Letters of their Majeſties. Beſides, the Vigorous Agreements of the *Juſtices* here and there in the Kingdom, aſſiſted by godly Gentlemen and Informers, to *execute* the Laws upon prophane Offenders; there has been ſtarted a Propoſal for the well affected People in every Pariſh, to enter into orderly Societies, whereof every Member ſhall bind himſelf, not only to avoid Prophaneneſs, in himſelf, but alſo according unto their Place, to do their *utmoſt* in firſt Reproving; and if it muſt be ſo, then Expoſing, and ſo *Puniſhing*, as the Law directs, for others that ſhall be *guilty*. It has been obſerved, that the *Engliſh* Nation has had ſome of its great *Succeſſes*, upon ſome ſpecial and ſignal Actions this way; and a *diſcouragement* given unto Legal Proceedings of this kind, muſt needs be very exerciſing to the *Wiſe that obſerve theſe things*. But O, why *ſhould not New-England* be the moſt forward part of the *Engliſh* Nation *in ſuch Reformation?* Methink I hear the Lord from Heaven ſaying over us, *O that my people had harkned unto me, then I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies!* There have been ſome feeble Eſſays towards Reformation of late in *our*

Churches; but I pray what comes of them? Do we ſtay till the ſtorm of his Wrath be over? Nay, let *us* be doing what we can, as faſt as we can to divert the ſtorm. The Devils having broke in upon *our World*, there is great aſking, *Who is it that has brought them in?* And many do by *Spectral Exhibitions* come to be cryed *out upon.* I hope in Gods time it will be *found*, that among thoſe that are *thus cryed out upon*, there are Perſons yet *clear from the great Tranſgreſſion*; but indeed, all the Unreformed among us, may juſtly be *cryed out upon*, as having *too much* of an hand in letting of the Devils into *our Borders*; 'tis *our Worldlineſs*, *our Formality*, *our Senſuality*, and *our Iniquity*, that has helped this letting of the Devils in. O let *us* then at laſt, *conſider our ways.* 'Tis a ſtrange paſſage recorded by Mr. *Clark*, in the life of his Father, That the people of his Pariſh refuſing to be Reclaimed from their *Sabbath-breaking*, by all the Zealous Teſtimonies which that good Man bore againſt it; at laſt, on a Night after the People had retired home from a Revelling *prophanation of the Lord's Day*, there was heard a great Noiſe, with ratling of Chains up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimſtone fill'd the *Neighbourhood.* Upon which the *guilty Conſciences* of the Wretches told them, the Devil was come to fetch them away; and it ſo terri-

fied them, that an Eminent Reformation followed the Sermons which that Man of God preached thereupon. Behold Sinners, behold and wonder, leſt *you periſh;* the very Devils are *walking about our ſtreets;* with lengthned Chains, making a *dreadful Noiſe in our Ears*, and *Brimſtone* even *without a Metaphor*, is making an helliſh and horrid ſtench in *our Noſtrils.* I pray leave off all thoſe things whereof *your guilty Conſciences* may *now accuſe you*, leſt the Devils do yet more *direfully fall upon you.* Reformation is at this time our only preſervation.

HAVING thus diſcourſ'd on *Wonders of the Inviſible World*, I ſhall now with God's help, go on to relate ſome Remarkable and Memorable Inſtances of Wonders which that World has given to *our ſelves.* And altho the chief Entertainment which my Readers do expect, and ſhall receive, will be a *true* Hiſtory of what has occurred, reſpecting the Witchcrafts wherewith we are at this day *perſecuted;* yet I ſhall chooſe to Uſher in the mention of thoſe things, with,

A Narrative of an APPARITION *which a Gentleman in* Boſton, *had of his Brother, just then Murthered in* London.

IT was on the 2*d of May*, in the year 1687, that a moſt ingenious accompliſhed and well diſpoſed Gentleman, Mr. *Joſeph Beacon* by Name, about five a Clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or Waking he could not ſay, (but judged the latter of them) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, altho he was now himſelf at our *Boſton*, diſtanced from him a *Thouſand Leagues*. This his Brother appear'd unto him in the Morning about five a Clock at *Boſton*, having on him a Bengal Gown, which he *uſually* wore, with a Napkin tyed about his Head; his *Countenance* was very Pale, Gaſtly, Deadly: and he had a *Bloody Wound* on one ſide of his Forehead. *Brother!* ſays the affrighted *Joſeph*. *Brother*, anſwered the Apparition. Said *Joſeph*, *What's the matter Brother? How came you here?* The Apparition replied, *Brother, I have been moſt* barbarouſly *and* injuriouſly *Butcher'd, by a Debauch'd, drunken Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my Life.* Whereupon he gave a particular deſcription of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, this Fellow changing his Name, is attempting to come over unto*

New-England, *in* Foy *or* Wild: *I would pray you on the firſt Arrival of either of theſe, to get an Order from the Governour, to Seize the Perſon whom I have now deſcribed; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother: I'll ſtand by you and prove the Indictment.* And ſo he vaniſhed. Mr. *Beacon* was extreamly aſtoniſhed at what he had ſeen and heard; and the people of the Family not only obſerved an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the week following, but have alſo given me under their hands a full Teſtimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. *Beacon* had no advice of any thing amiſs attending his Brother then in *England*; but about the latter end of *June* following, he underſtood by the common ways of Communication, that the *April* before, his Brother, going in haſte by Night to call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in Drink, with his Doxy in his Hand: Some way or other the Fellow thought himſelf Affronted with the haſty paſſage of this *Beacon*, and immediately ran into the Fireſide of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-fork wherewith he grievouſly wounded *Beacon* in the Skull; even in that very part where the Apparition ſhow'd his Wound. Of this Wound he Languiſhed until he Dyed on the Second of *May*, about

five of the Clock in the Morning at *London.* The Murderer it ſeems was endeavouring to Eſcape, as the Apparitoin affirmed, but the Friends of the Deceaſed *Beacon*, Seized him; and proſecuting him at Law, he found the help of ſuch Friends as brought him off without the loſs of his Life; ſince which there has no more been heard of the Buſineſs.

This Hiſtory I received of Mr. *Joſeph Beacon* himſelf, who a little before his own pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story written and ſigned with his own Hand, and atteſted with the Circumſtances I have already mentioned.

BUT I ſhall no longer detain my Reader from his expected Entertainment, in a brief Account of the Tryals which have paſſed upon ſome of the Malefactors lately Executed at *Salem*, for the *Witchcrafts* whereof they ſtood Convicted. For my own part, I was not preſent at any of them; nor ever had I any Perſonal prejudice at the Perſons thus brought upon the Stage; much leſs at the ſurviving Relations of thoſe Perſons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a Mourner as any Man living in the World: *The Lord Comfort them!* But having received a particular Command ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly relate the Chief *Matters*

of Fact, which occurr'd in the Tryals of ſome that were Executed, in an Abridgment Collected out of the *Court Papers*, on this occaſion put into my hands. You are to take the Truth juſt as it was; and the Truth will hurt no good man. There might have been more of theſe, if my Book would not thereby have ſwollen too big; and if ſome other worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe *Collections*; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out Four or Five, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the way of Dealing, wherein *Witchcrafts* uſe to be concerned; and I report matters not as an *Advocate*, but as an *Hiſtorian.*

They were ſome of the Gracious Words inſerted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Miniſters did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, *We cannot but with all thankfulneſs, acknowledge the ſucceſs which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Aſſiduous endeavours of our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; humbly Praying, that the diſcovery of theſe myſterious and miſchievous wickedneſſes, may be perfected.* If in the midſt of the many Diſſatisfactions among us, the Publication of theſe Tryals, may promote ſuch a pious Thankfulneſs unto God for Juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall Rejoyce that God is

Glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his Glorious Works. But we will begin with

A Modern Inſtance of Witches, Diſcovered and Condemned in a Tryal, before that Celebrated Judg, Sir Matthew Hale.

IT may caſt ſome Light upon the Dark things now in *America*, if we juſt give a glance upon the *like things* lately happening in *Europe*. We may ſee the *Witchcrafts* here moſt exactly reſemble the *Witchcrafts* there; and we may learn what ſort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable *Baxter* very truly ſays, *Judge* Hale *was a Perſon, than whom no man was more Backward to condemn a Witch, without full Evidence.*

Now, one of the lateſt Printed Accounts about a *Tryal of Witches*, is of what was before him, and it ran on this wiſe. [Printed in the Year 1682.] And it is here the rather mentioned, becauſe it was a Tryal, much conſidered by the Judges of *New-England.*

I. *Roſe Cullender* and *Amy Duny*, were ſeverally Indicted, for Bewitching *Elizabeth Durent, Ann Durent, Jane Bocking, Suſan Chandler, William Durent, Elizabeth and Deborah Pacy*, and the Evidence whereon they were Convicted, ſtood upon divers particular Circumſtances.

II. *Ann Durent*, *Suſan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacy*, when they came into the Hall, to give Inſtructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into ſtrange and violent Fits, ſo that they were unable to give in their Depoſitions, not only then, but alſo during the whole Aſſizes. *William Durent* being an Infant, his Mother ſwore, That *Amy Duny* looking after her Child one Day in her abſence, did at her return confeſs, that ſhe had given ſuck to the Child: (tho' ſhe were an Old Woman:) Whereat, when *Durent* expreſſed her diſpleaſure, *Duny* went away with Diſcontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into ſtrange and ſad Fits, wherein it continued for divers Weeks. One Dr. *Jacob* adviſed her to hang up the Childs Blanket in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night when ſhe went to put the Child into it, if ſhe found any thing in it then to through it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up and down the Hearth. A boy catch't it, and held it in the Fire with the Tongs, where it made an horrible Noiſe and flaſh'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report like that of a Piſtol: Whereupon the Toade was no more to be ſeen. The next Day a Kinſwoman of *Duny's* told the Deponent, that her Aunt was all grievouſly ſcorch'd with the

Fire, and the Deponent going to her Houſe, found her in ſuch a Condition. *Duny* told her, ſhe might thank her for it; but ſhe ſhould live to ſee ſome of her Children Dead, and herſelf upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child recovered.

This Deponent further teſtified, that her Daughter *Elizabeth*, being about the Age of ten Years, was taken in like manner as her firſt Child was, and in her Fits complained much of *Amy Duny*, and ſaid that ſhe did appear to her, and afflict her in ſuch manner as the former. One day ſhe found *Amy Duny* in her Houſe, and thruſting her out of Doors, *Duny* ſaid, *You need not be ſo angry, your Child won't live long.* And within three days the Child died. The Deponent added, that ſhe herſelf, not long after was taken with ſuch a Lameneſs in both her Legs, that ſhe was forced to go upon Crutches, and ſhe was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in *Duny* Guilty, *Durent* was reſtored unto to the uſe of her Limbs, and went home without her Crutches.]

III. As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, one Aged Eleven Years, the other Nine; the elder being in Court, was made utterly ſenſeleſs, during all the time of the Trial, or at leaſt ſpeechleſs, by the direction of the Judge, *Duny* was

privately brought to *Elizabeth Pacy*, and ſhe touched her hand: whereupon the Child, without ſo much as ſeeing her, ſuddenly leap'd up and flew upon the Priſoner; the younger was too ill to be brought into the Aſſizes. But *Samuel Pacy*, their Father, teſtified, that his Daughter *Deborah* was taken with a ſudden Lameneſs; and upon the grumbling of *Amy Duny*, for being denied ſomething, where this Child was then ſitting, the Child was taken with an extream pain in her ſtomach, like the pricking of Pins; and ſhrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather than a Rational Creature. The Phyſicians could not conjecture the cauſe of the Diſtemper, but *Amy Duny*, being a Woman of ill Frame, and the Child in Fits crying out of *Amy Duny*, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her Perſon, the Deponent ſuſpected her, and procured her to be ſet in the Stocks. While ſhe was there, ſhe ſaid in the hearing of two Witneſſes, Mr. Pacy *keeps a great ſtir about his Child, but let him ſtay till he has done as much by his Children as I have done by mine.* And being aſked what ſhe had done to her Children, ſhe anſwered, *She had been fain to open her Childs Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.* The Deponent added, that within two days the Fits of his Daughters were ſuch, that they could not preſerve either Life or Breath,

without the help of a Tap. And that the Children cry'd out of *Amy Duny*, and of *Roſe Cullender*, as afflicting them with her Apparition.

IV. The Fits of the Children were various. They would ſometimes be Lame on one ſide, ſometimes on t'other. Sometimes very ſore, ſometimes reſtored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extreamly, and with much Flegm, they would bring up crooked pins, and at one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would caſt up a Pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of *Lord*, or *Jeſus*, or *Chriſt*, but would fall into Fits; and ſay, Amy Duny *ſays, I muſt not uſe that Name.* When they came to the Name of *Satan* or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers upon the Book, crying out, *This bites, but it makes me ſpeak right well!* The Children in their Fits would often Cry out, *There ſtands* Amy Duny, or *Roſe Cullender;* and they would afterwards relate, *That theſe Witches appearing before them, threatned them, that if they told of what they ſaw or heard, they would Torment them more than ever they did before.*

V. *Margaret Arnold*, the Siſter to Mr. *Pacy*, Teſtifi'd unto the like Sufferings being upon

the Children, at her Houſe, whither her Brother had removed them. And that ſometimes, the Children (*only*) would ſee things like Mice, run about the Houſe; and one of them ſuddenly ſnap'd one with the Tongs, and threw it into the Fire, where it ſcreeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee flew at the Face of the younger Child, the Child fell into a Fit, and at laſt Vomited up a *Two-penny Nail*, with a broad Head; affirming, *That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her Mouth.* The Child would in like manner be aſſaulted with Flies, which brought crooked Pins unto her, and made her firſt ſwallow them, and then Vomit them. She one day caught an Inviſible Mouſe, and throwing it into the Fire, it flaſh'd like to Gun-Powder. None beſides the Child ſaw the Mouſe, but every one ſaw the Flaſh. She alſo declared out of her Fits, that in them, *Amy Duny* much tempted her to deſtroy her ſelf.

VI. As for *Ann Durent*, her Father teſtified, That upon a Diſcontent of *Roſe Cullender*, his Daughter was taken with much Illneſs in her Stomach, and great and ſore pains, like the pricking of Pins, and then Swooning Fits, from which recovering, ſhe declared, *She had ſeen the Apparition of* Roſe Cullender, *threatning to Torment her.* She likewiſe Vomited up divers Pins. The Maid was preſent at Court, but when *Cul-*

lender looked upon her, ſhe fell into ſuch Fits, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin depoſed the ſame.

VII. *Jane Bockin*, who was too weak to be at the Aſſizes, but her Mother Teſtified, that her Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fits, and Recovered of them, was now taken with a great pain in her Stomach, and New Swooning Fits. That ſhe took little Food, but every day Vomited Crooked Pins. In her firſt Fits, ſhe would extend her Arms, and uſe poſtures as if ſhe catched at ſomething: and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find ſeveral pins diverſely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would alſo maintain a Diſcourſe with ſome that were inviſibly preſent, when caſting abroad her Arms, ſhe would often ſay, *I will not have it!* but at laſt ſay, *Then I will have it!* and cloſing her hand, which when they preſently after opened, a Lath Nail was found in it. But her great Complaints were of being viſited by the ſhapes of *Amy Duny*, and *Roſe Cullender*.

VIII. As for *Suſan Chandler*, her Mother Teſtified, That being at the Search of *Roſe Cullender*, they found on her Belly a thing like a Teat, of an Inch long; which the ſaid *Roſe* aſcribed to a ſtrain. But near her privy parts they found three more, that were ſmaller than

the former. At the end of the long Teat there was a little hole, which appeared as if newly Sucked; and upon ſtraining it, a white Milky Matter iſſued out. The Deponent further ſaid, That her Daughter being one day concerned at *Roſe Cullenders* taking her by the hand ſhe fell very ſick, and at night cry'd out, *That* Roſe Cullender *would come to Bed unto her.* Her Fits grew violent, and in the Intervals of them, ſhe declared, *That ſhe ſaw* Roſe Cullender *in them, and once having a great Dog with her.* She alſo Vomited up crooked Pins; and when ſhe was brought into Court, ſhe fell into Fits. She recovered her ſelf in ſome time, and was aſked by the Court, whether ſhe was in a condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She ſaid ſhe could, but having been Sworn, ſhe fell into her Fits again, and *Burn her! Burn her!* were all the words that ſhe could find Power to ſpeak. Her Father likewiſe gave the ſame Teſtimony with her Mother, as to all but the Search.

IX. Here was the ſum of the Evidence: which was not thought ſufficient to Convict the Priſoners. For admitting the Children were Bewitched, yet, ſaid he, it can never be apply'd unto the Priſoners, upon the Imagination of the Parties only Afflicted; inaſmuch as no perſon whatſoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. *Brown*, a very Learned Perſon then preſ-

ent, gave his Opinion, that theſe Perſons were bewitched. He added, that in *Denmark*, there had been lately a great diſcovery of Witches; who uſed the very ſame way of afflicting people, by conveying Pins and Nails into them. His opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did work upon the Bodys of Men and Women, upon a *Natural Foundation;* and that he did Extraordinarily afflict them, with ſuch Diſtempers as their Bodies were moſt ſubject unto.

X. The Experiment about the *Uſefulneſs*, yea, or *Lawfulneſs* whereof Good Men have ſometimes diſputed, was divers Times made, that though the afflicted were utterly deprived of all ſenſe in their Fits, yet upon the *Touch* of the accuſed, they would ſo ſcreech out, and fly up, as not upon any other Perſons. And yet it was alſo found that once upon the touch of an innocent perſon, the like effect followed, which put the whole Court unto a ſtand! although a ſmall Reaſon was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to ſtrengthen the Credit of what had been already produced againſt the Priſoners, one *John Soam* teſtifi'd, that bringing home his Hay in Three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of *Roſe Cullenders* Houſe, whereupon ſhe flew out, with violent Threatnings againſt the Deponent. The other two

Carts, paſſed by twice, Loaded, that day afterwards; but the Cart which touched *Cullenders* Houſe, was twice or thrice that day overturned Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which leads out of the Field, the Cart ſtruck ſo faſt in the Gates Head, that they could not poſſibly get it thro', but were forced to cut down the Poſt of the Gate, to make the Cart paſs thro', altho' they could not perceive that the Cart did of either ſide touch the Gate-Poſt. They afterwards did with much Difficulty get it home to the Yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they ſhould unload. They were fain to unload at a great Diſtance; and when they were Tired, the Noſes of them that came to aſſiſt them, would burſt forth a Bleeding; ſo they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any difficulty.

XII. *Robert Sherringham* alſo Teſtified, that the Axle Tree of his Cart, happening in paſſing, to break ſome part of *Roſe Cullenders* Houſe, in her Anger, at it, ſhe vehemently threatned him, *His Horſes ſhould ſuffer for it.* And within a ſhort time all his Four Horſes dyed; after which he ſuſtained many other Loſſes in the ſudden dying of his Cattle. He was alſo taken with a Lameneſs in his Limbs; and ſo vexed with Lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigneſs, that

no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up two Suits of Apparel.

XIII. As for *Amy Duny*, 'twas Teſtifi'd by one *Richard Spencer* that he heard her ſay, *That the Devil would not let her Reſt, until ſhe were Revenged on the Wife of* Cornelius Sandſwel. And that *Sandſwel* teſtifi'd that her Poultry dy'd ſuddainly, upon *Amy Dunys* threatning of them; and that her Huſbands Chimney fell, quickly after *Duny* had ſpoken of ſuch a diſaſter. And a Firkin of Fiſh could not be kept from falling into the Water, upon ſuſpicious words of *Dunys*.

XIV. The Judge told the Jury, they were to inquire now, firſt, Whether theſe Children were Bewitched; and ſecondly, Whether the Priſoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were ſuch Creatures as Witches; for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wiſdom of all Nations had provided Laws againſt ſuch Perſons. He prayed the God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for *To condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*

The Jury in half an hour brought them in Guilty upon the ſeveral Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next Morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord

Chief Juſtice, and were in as good health as ever in their Lives; being reſtored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were Executed, and *Confeſſed* nothing; which indeed will not be wondered by them, who Conſider and Entertain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, *That the Unpardonable Sin, is moſt uſually Committed by Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.*

We will now proceed unto ſeveral of the like Trials among our ſelves.

NOTE. — See Calef (pp. 278 to 329 of this volume), who has inſerted the account of the trials in the ſame words as Cotton Mather, prefixing alſo copies of the indictments.

Having thus far done the Service impoſ'd upon me; I will further purſue it, by relating a few of thoſe matchleſs Curioſities, with which the Witchcraft now upon us has entertained us. And I ſhall Report nothing but with good Authority and what I would invite all my Readers to examine, while 'tis yet freſh and new, that if there be found any miſtake, it may be as willingly Retracted, as it was unwillingly committed.

The firſt Curioſity.

I. 'Tis very Remarkable to ſee what impious and impudent *Imitation* of Divine Things, is apiſhly affected by the Devil, in ſeveral of thoſe Matters, whereof the Confeſſions of our *Witches*, and the Afflictions of our *Sufferers* have informed us.

That Reverend and Excellent Perſon, Mr. *John Higginſon*, in my Converſation with him, once invited me to this Reflection; that the *Indians* which come from far to ſettle about *Mexico*, were in their Progreſs to that Settlement, under a Conduct of the *Devil*, were ſtrangely Emulating what the Bleſſed God gave to *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſs.

Acoſta, is our Author for it, that the Devil in their Idol *Vitzlipultzli*, governed that mighty

Nation. *He commanded them to leave their Country, promiſing to make them* Lords *over all the Provinces poſſeſſed by* Six *other Nations of* Indians, *and give them a Land abounding with all precious things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them, in a Coffer of* Reeds, *ſupported by four of their Principal Prieſts, with whom he ſtill diſcourſed in ſecret, revealing to them the Succeſſes, and Accidents of their way. He adviſed them when to* March, *and where to* Stay, *and without his Commandment they moved not. The firſt thing they did, wherever they came, was to erect a* Tabernacle *for their falſe God; which they ſet always in the midſt of their Camp, and they placed the* Ark *upon an* Altar. *When they, tired with Pains, talked of proceeding no further in their Journey, than a certain pleaſant Stage, whereto they were arrived, this Devil in one Night, horribly killed them that had ſtarted this Talk, by pulling out their Hearts. And ſo they paſſed on till they came to* Mexico.

The Devil which *then* thus imitated what was in the Church of the *Old Teſtament*, now among *us* would imitate the Affairs of the Church in the *New*. The *Witches* do ſay, that they form themſelves much after the manner of *Congregational Churches;* and that they have a *Baptiſm* and a *Supper* and *Officers* among them, abominably Reſembling thoſe of our Lord.

But there are many more of theſe Bloody *Imitations*, if the Confeſſions of the *Witches* are to be received; which I confeſs, ought to be but with very much Caution.

What is their ſtriking down with a fierce *Look?* What is their making of the Afflicted *Riſe*, with a touch of their *Hand?* What is their Tranſportation through the *Air?* What is their Travelling in *Spirit*, while their Body is caſt into a Trance? What is their cauſing of *Cattel* to run mad and periſh? What is their Entring their Names in a *Book?* What is their coming together from all parts, at the Sound of a *Trumpet?* What is their appearing ſometimes clothed with *Light* or *Fire* upon them? What is their covering of themſelves and their Inſtruments with *Inviſibility?* But a blaſphemous Imitation of certain things recorded about our Saviour or his Prophets, or the Saints in the Kingdom of God.

A Second Curioſity.

II. In all the *Witchcraft* which now grievouſly Vexes us, I know not whether any thing be more unaccountably, than the Trick which the Witches have to render themſelves, and their Tools *Inviſible*. *Witchcraft* ſeems to be the Skill of Applying the *Plaſtic Spirit* of the

World, unto ſome unlawful purpoſes, by means of a Confederacy with *Evil Spirits*. Yet one would wonder how the *Evil Spirits* themſelves can do ſome things; eſpecially at *Inviſibilizing* of the groſſeſt Bodies. I can tell the Name of an ancient Author, who pretends to ſhew the way, how a Man may come to walk about *Inviſible*, and I can tell the Name of another ancient Author, who pretends to Explode that way. But I will not ſpeak too plainly, leſt I ſhould unawares Poiſon ſome of my *Readers*, as the Pious *Hemingius* did one of his *Pupils*, when he only by way of Diverſion recited a Spell, which, they had ſaid, would cure *Agues*. Thus much I will ſay; The notion of procuring *Inviſibility*, by any *Natural Expedient*, yet known, is, I believe, a meer PLINYISM; How far it may be obtained by a *Magical Sacrament*, is beſt known to the dangerous Knaves that have try'd it. But our *Witches* do ſeem to have got the knack; and this is one of the Things, that make me think, *Witchcraft* will not be fully underſtood, until the day when there ſhall not be one Witch in the World.

There are certain People very *Dogmatical* about theſe Matters; but I'll give them only theſe three Bones to pick.

Firſt, One of our bewitched People, was cruelly aſſaulted by a *Spectre*, that, ſhe ſaid, ran at

her with a *Spindle;* tho no body elſe in the Room, could ſee either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle.* At laſt, in her Miſeries, giving a ſnatch at the *Spectre*, ſhe pull'd the *Spindle* away, and it was no ſooner got into her Hand, but the other People then preſent, beheld, that it was indeed a real, proper, Iron *Spindle*, belonging they knew to whom; which when they lock'd up very ſafe, it was nevertheleſs by *Dæmons* unaccountably ſtole away, to do further miſchief.

Secondly, Another of our Bewitch'd People, was haunted with a moſt abuſive *Spectre*, which came to her, ſhe ſaid, with a *Sheet* about her. After ſhe had undergone a deal of Teaze, from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, ſhe gave a violent ſnatch at the Sheet, that was upon it; wherefrom ſhe tore a Corner, which in her hand immediately became *Viſible* to a Room full of Spectators; a palpable Corner of a Sheet. Her Father, who was now holding her, catch'd that he might keep what his Daughter had ſo ſtrangely ſeiſed, but the unſeen *Spectre* had like to have pull'd his hand off, by endeavouring to wreſt it from him; however he ſtill held it, and I ſuppoſe has it ſtill to ſhew; it being but a few hours ago, namely about the beginning of this *October*, that this Accident happened in the Family of one *Pitman*, at *Mancheſter.*

Thirdly, A young Man, delaying to procure

Teſtimonials for his Parents, who being under confinement on Suſpicion of *Witchcraft*, required him to do that ſervice for them, was quickly purſued with odd Inconveniences. But once above the reſt, an Officer going to put his *Brand* on the Horns of ſome *Cows*, belonging to theſe People, which tho he had ſeiſed for ſome of their Debts, yet he was willing to leave in their Poſſeſſion, for the Subſiſtence of the poor Family: this young Man help'd in holding the Cows to be thus branded. The three firſt *Cows* he held well enough; but when the hot *Brand* was clap'd upon the Fourth, he *winc'd* and *ſhrunk* at ſuch a Rate, as that he could hold the Cow no longer. Being afterwards Examined about it, he confeſſed, that at that very inſtant when the *Brand* entred the *Cows Horn*, exactly the like burning *Brand* was clap'd upon his own Thigh; where he has expoſed the laſting Marks of it, unto ſuch as aſked to ſee them.

Unriddle theſe Things.——*Et Eris mihi magnus Apollo.*

A Third Curioſity.

III. If a drop of *Innocent Blood* ſhould be ſhed, in the Proſecution of the *Witchcrafts* among us, how unhappy are we! For which cauſe, I cannot expreſs my ſelf in better terms, than

thoſe of a moſt worthy Perſon, who lives near the preſent Center of these things. *The Mind of* God *in theſe Matters, is to be carefully lookt into, with due Circumſpection, that Satan deceive us not with his Devices, who transforms himſelf into an Angel of Light, and may pretend Juſtice, and yet intend Miſchief.* But on the other ſide, if the ſtorm of Juſtice do now fall only on the Heads of thoſe guilty *Witches* and *Wretches* which have defiled our Land, *How Happy!*

The Execution of ſome that have lately dyed, has been immediately attended, with a ſtrange Deliverance of ſome, that had lain for many years, in a moſt ſad Condition, under, they knew not whoſe *evil hands.* As I am abundantly ſatisfied, That many of the Self-Murders committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and bloody *Witchcraft*, letting fly *Dæmons* upon the miſerable *Seneca's;* thus, it has been admirable unto me to ſee, how a deviliſh *Witchcraft*, ſending Devils upon them, has driven many poor People to *Deſpair*, and perſecuted their Minds, with ſuch buzzes of *Atheiſm* and *Blaſphemy*, as has made them run *diſtracted with Terrors:* And ſome long *bow'd down* under ſuch a *Spirit of Infirmity*, have been marvellouſly recovered upon the Death of the Witches.

One *Whetford* particularly ten years ago, challenging of *Bridget Biſhop* (whoſe *Trial* you

have had) with *ſtealing* of a *Spoon*, *Biſhop* threatned her very *direfully:* preſently after this, was *Whetford* in the Night, and in her Bed, viſited by *Biſhop*, with one *Parker*, who making the Room light at their coming in, there diſcourſed of ſeveral Miſchiefs they would inflict upon her. At laſt they pull'd her out, and carried her unto the Sea-ſide, there to *drown* her; but ſhe calling upon God, they left her, tho not without Expreſſions of their *Fury*. From that very time, this poor *Whetford* was *utterly ſpoilt*, and *grew a tempted, froward, crazed* ſort of a *Woman;* a Vexation to her *ſelf*, and all about *her;* and many *ways* unreaſonable. In this *Diſtraction* ſhe lay, till thoſe *Women* were *Apprehended* by the *Authority; then* ſhe began to *mend*, and upon their *Execution*, was *preſently* and *perfectly recovered*, from the *ten years Madneſs* that had been upon her.

A Fourth Curioſity.

IV. 'Tis a thouſand pities, that we ſhould permit our Eyes to be ſo *Blood-ſhot* with *Paſſions*, as to loſe the ſight of many wonderful things, wherein the *Wiſdom* and *Juſtice* of *God*, would be *glorified*. Some of thoſe things, are the frequent **Apparitions** of *Ghoſts*, whereby many old **Murders** among us, come to be *con-*

ſidered. And, among many *Inſtances* of this *kind*, I will ſingle out one, which concerned a *poor Man*, lately *preſt* unto *Death*, becauſe of his *refuſing* to *Plead* for his Life. I ſhall make an Extract of a Letter, which was written to my Honourable Friend, *Samuel Sewal*, Eſq; by Mr. *Putnam*, to this purpoſe;

"THE laſt Night my *Daughter Ann* was grievouſly tormented by Witches, threatning "that we *ſhould* be *Preſſed* to Death, before *Giles* "*Cory*. But through the Goodneſs of a Gracious God, ſhe had at laſt a little Reſpite: "Whereupon there appeared unto her (ſhe ſaid) "a Man in a Winding ſheet, who told her, that "*Giles Cory* had Murdered him by *Preſſing* him "to *Death* with his Feet; but that the Devil "there appeared unto him, and Covenanted with "him, and promiſ'd him, *He ſhould not be* "*Hanged.* The Apparition ſaid, God hardned "his Heart, that he ſhould not hearken to the "Advice of the Court, and ſo die an eaſie "Death; becauſe as it ſaid, *It muſt be done to* "*him as he has done to me.* The Apparition alſo "ſaid, that *Giles Cory* was carried to the Court "for this, and that the Jury had found the Murther, and that her Father knew the Man, and "the thing was done before ſhe was Born. Now "Sir, this is not a little ſtrange to us, that no

"Body ſhould remember theſe things all the "while that *Giles Cory* was in Priſon, and ſo "often before the Court. For all People now "remember very well, (and the Records of the "Court alſo mention it) That about Seventeen "Years ago, *Giles Cory* kept a Man in his Houſe, "that was almoſt a Natural Fool; which Man "died Suddenly: A Jury was Impannel'd upon "him, among whom was Dr. *Zerobbabel Endi-"cot;* who found the Man bruiz'd to Death; "and having clodders of Blood about his Heart. "The Jury, whereof ſeveral are yet alive, brought "in the Man Murdered; but as if ſome Enchant-"ment had hindered the Proſecution of the Mat-"ter, the Court proceeded not againſt *Giles Cory*, "tho it coſt him a great deal of Money to get "off. Thus the Story.

THE *Reverend and Worthy Author, having at the Direction of his Excellency the Governour, ſo far obliged the Publick, as to give ſome Account of the Sufferings brought upon the Country by* Witchcraft; *and of the Tryals which have paſſed upon ſeveral Executed for the ſame.*

Upon peruſal whereof, we find the Matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported; and a Proſpect given of the Methods of Conviction, uſed in the Proceedings of the Court at Salem.

Boſton Octob. 11. 1692.

William Stoughton,
Samuel Sewall.

BUT is *New England* the only Chriſtian Country, that hath undergone ſuch Diabolical Moleſtations? No, there are other good People, that have in this way been harraſſed; but none in Circumſtances more like to *Ours*, than the People of God in *Sweedland*. The Story is a very famous one, and it comes to ſpeak *Engliſh* by the acute Pen of the Excellent and Renowned Dr. *Horneck*. I ſhall only ſingle out a few of the more Memorable Paſſages therein occurring; and where it agrees with what happened among our ſelves, my Reader ſhall underſtand, by my inſerting a word of every ſuch thing in **Black Letter.**

I. It was in the Year 1669, and 1670. That at *Mobra*, in *Sweedland*, the **Devils,** by the help of **Witches,** committed a moſt horrible Outrage. Among other Inſtances of Helliſh Tyranny there exerciſed, One was, that Hundreds of their Children were uſually in the Night fetch'd from their Lodgings, to a Diabolical Rendezvouz, at a place they call'd *Blockula*, where the Monſters that ſo ſpirited them, tempted them all manner of ways to **Associate** with them. Yea, ſuch were the perilous growth of this *Witchcraft*, that Perſons of Quality began to ſend their Children into other Countries to avoid it.

II. The Inhabitants had earneſtly ſought God by **Prayer**, and **yet** their Affliction continued. Whereupon **Judges** had a ſpecial **Commission** to find and root out the Helliſh Crew; and the rather, becauſe another County in the Kingdom, which had been ſo moleſted, was deliver'd upon the Execution of the *Witches*.

III. The **Examination** was begun with a day of **Humiliation** appointed by Authority. Whereupon the Commiſſioners **Conſulting** how they might reſiſt ſuch a dangerous Flood; the **Suffering Children** were firſt Examined; and though they were Queſtioned **One** by **One** apart, yet their **Declarations** all agreed. The **Witches** Accuſ'd in theſe Declarations, were then Examined; and though at firſt they obſtinately **denied**, yet at length many of them ingenuouſly **Confeſſed** the Truth of what the Children ſaid; owning, with Tears, that the **Devil**, whom they called *Locyta*, had **ſtopt** their **Mouths**; but he being now **gone** from them, they could **No longer Conceal** the Buſineſs. The things by them **acknowledged**, moſt wonderfully agreed with what other Witches in other Places had confeſſed.

IV. They confeſſed, That they did uſe to **Call upon the Devil**, who thereupon would **carry** them away over the Tops of Houſes, to a Green Meadow, where they gave themſelves unto him. Only one of them ſaid, that ſometimes the Devil

only took away her Strength, leaving her Body on the Ground; but ſhe went at other times in Body too.

V. Their manner was to come into the Chambers of People, and fetch away their Children upon Beaſts of the Devil's providing; promiſing fine Clothes and other fine Things unto them, to inveagle them. They ſaid, they never had power to do thus, till of late; but now the Devil did Plague and Beat them, if they did not gratifie him in this piece of Miſchief. They ſaid, they made uſe of all ſorts of Instruments in their Journeys! Of Men, of Beasts, of Posts; the Men they commonly laid aſleep at the Place whereto they rode them, and if the Children mentioned the Names of them that ſtole them away, they were miſerably Scurged for it, until ſome of them were killed. The Judges found the Marks of the Laſhes on ſome of them; but the Witches ſaid, They would quickly vanish. Moreover, the Children would be in ſtrange Fits, after they were brought home from theſe Tranſportations.

VI. The first thing they ſaid they were to do at *Blockula*, was to give themſelves unto the Devil, and Vow that they would ſerve him. Hereupon they cut their fingers, and with Blood writ their Names in his Book. And he alſo cauſed them to be Baptized by ſuch Priests as

he had in this Horrid Company. In ſome of them the *Mark* of the cut finger was to be found; they ſaid, that the Devil gave *Meat* and *Drink*, as to *Them*, ſo to the Children they brought with them; that afterwards their cuſtom was to *Dance* before him, and *Swear* and *Curſe* moſt horribly. They ſaid, that the Devil ſhewed them a great frightful cruel *Dragon*, telling them, *If they confeſſed any thing*, he would let looſe that great Devil upon them: They added, that the Devil had a great *Church*, and that when the Judge were coming, he told them, *He would kill them all;* and that that ſome of them had *attempted to murder the Judges, but could not.*

VII. Some of the Children talked much of a *white Angel*, which did uſe to forbid them what the Devil bid them to do, and aſſure them, that theſe doings would *not laſt long;* but that what had been done, was permitted for the Wickedneſs of the People. This *white Angel* would ſometimes Reſcue the Children from *Going* in with the Witches.

VIII. The Witches confeſſ'd many Miſchiefs done by them, declaring with what kind of Enchanted Tools they did their Miſchiefs: They thought eſpecially to *Kill the Miniſter of Elfdala*, but could not. But ſome of them ſaid, that ſuch as they wounded, would be recovered, upon or before their Execution.

IX. The Judges would fain have had them ſhow'd ſome of their *Tricks;* but they unanimouſly declared, *That ſince they had confeſſed all, they found all their* Witchcraft *gone;* and the Devil then *appeared very terrible unto them, threatning with an Iron Fork to thruſt them into a burning Pit, if they perſiſted in their Confeſſion.*

X. There were diſcovered no leſs than *three-ſcore and ten* Witches in one Village; three and twenty of which *freely confeſſing their Crimes,* were condemned to Die. The reſt (one pretending ſhe was with Child) were ſent to *Fahluna,* where moſt of them were afterwards executed. Fifteen Children, which confeſſed themſelves engaged in this Witchery, died as the reſt, Six and thirty of them between *Nine* and *Sixteen* Years of Age, who had been leſs guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet, and be laſhed on their Hands once a Week, for a Year together. Twenty more, who had leſs inclination to theſe Infernal Enterprizes, were laſhed with Rods upon their Hands for three *Sundays* together, at the Church-door. The Number of the Seduced Children, was about Three Hundred. This Courſe, together with Weekly Prayers in all the Churches through the Kingdom, iſſued in the deliverance of the Country.

XI. The moſt Accompliſh'd Dr. *Horneck* incerts a moſt wiſe Caution in his Preface to

this Narrative, ſays he, *There is no Publick Calamity, but ſome ill People will ſerve themſelves of the ſad Providence, and make uſe of it for their own ends; as Thieves, when an Houſe or Town is on Fire, will Steal what they can.* And he mentions a remarkable Story of a young Woman at *Stockholm*, in the Year 1676, who accuſed her own Mother of being a Witch; and ſwore poſitively, that ſhe had carried her away in the Night; the poor Woman was burnt upon it, profeſſing her Innocency to the laſt. But though ſhe had been an ill Woman, yet it afterwards prov'd, that ſhe was not ſuch an one; for her Daughter came to the Judges, with hideous Lamentations, confeſſing that ſhe had wronged her, out of a wicked ſpight againſt her; whereupon the Judges gave order for her Execution too.

But ſo much of theſe things. *And now, Lord, make theſe Labours of thy Servant profitable to thy People.*

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

THE following is a list of persons who lost their lives in the delusion of 1692, by the hand of the executioner, on Gallows Hill in Salem: —

Rev. George Burroughs of Wells; Wilmot Reed of Marblehead; Margaret Scot of Rowley; Susanna Martin of Amesbury; Elizabeth How of Ipswich; Sarah Wildes and Mary Easty of Topsfield; Samuel Wardwell, Martha Carrier,* and Mary Parker of Andover; John Proctor, George Jacobs sen., John Willard, Sarah Good, Rebecca Nurse, and Martha Cory of Salem Village; Ann Pudeater, Bridget Bishop, Alice Parker of Salem.

Giles Cory, of Salem Farms, was pressed to death.

The following persons were condemned to death, but did not suffer: —

Abigail Faulkner, Mary Lacy, Ann Foster,† Mary Post, Sarah Wardwell, and Elizabeth Johnson of Andover; Dorcas Hoar, Beverly; Mary Bradbury of Salisbury; Rebecca Eames of Boxford; Abigail Hobbs of Topsfield, and Elizabeth Proctor of Salem Farms.

The following list contains the names of all the persons who were accused of witchcraft, as far as we have been able to ascertain: —

Salem.— Philip English, Mary English, Ann Pudeater, Mrs. White, Sarah Pease, Alice Parker, Thomas Hardy, Mary De Riels, Sarah Cole, Candy, a slave.

Salem Village and Salem Farms.— Daniel Andrews, George Jacobs sen., George Jacobs, Rebecca Jacobs, Margaret Jacobs, Bridget Bishop, Edward Bishop, John Buxton, Sarah Bishop, Mary Black (negress), George Burroughs, Goodwife Bibber, Sarah Cloyce, John Proctor, Elizabeth Proctor, Rebecca Nourse, Mary Warren, Sarah Good, Tituba, John Indian, Martha Jacobs, John

* Martha Carrier had four of her children with her in prison.

† Ann Foster died in prison, and after her death, her son Abraham Foster was compelled to pay 2 pounds 10 shillings, to the keeper of the prison, to obtain her body.

Willard, Sarah Buckley, Mary Whittredge, Giles Cory, Martha Cory, Dorothy Good, Benjamin Proctor.

Topsfield and Ipswich. — Mary Easty, Abigail Hobbs, William Hobbs, Sarah Wildes, Deliverance Hobbs, Nehemiah Abbott jun., James How, Elizabeth How.

Lynn. — Wife of Isaac Hart, Thomas Farrar, Elizabeth Hart, Mary Ireson, Mary Derrick, Sarah Bassett, Sarah, wife of John Cole, widow Mary Derrill, widow Mary Rich.

Charlestown. — Elizabeth Carey, Elizabeth Payne.

Beverly. — Dorcas Hoar, Sarah Merrell, Susanna Roote, Sarah Bulkley, Sarah Riste, Job Tukey, John Wright, Rebecca Johnson, Sarah Morey.

Woburn. — Ann Seers, Bethiah Carter, Bethiah Carter jun.

Reading. — Elizabeth Colsen, Lydia Dustin, wife of Nicholas Rice.

Boxford. — Robert Eames, Rebecca Eames.

Haverhill. — Widow of Francis Hutchinson, Mary Green.

Rowley. — Margaret Scot, Mary Post.

Marblehead. — Wife of Samuel Reed, Wilmot Reed.

Boston. — Capt. John Alden, Capt. John Flood.

Billerica. — Mary Toothaker, Margaret Scot, ——— Abbott, Jason Toothaker, M. Andrews, Roger Toothaker.

Malden. — Elizabeth Fosdick.

Chelmsford. — Martha Sparks.

Gloucester. — Martha Prince, Mary Coffin, Ann Doliver, Abigail Somes.

Amesbury. — Susanna Martin.

Salisbury. — Mary Bradbury.

Andover. — Martha Carrier, Nehemiah Abbott, Deliverance Dane, Richard Carrier, Abigail Faulkner, Ann Foster, Mary Lacy, Samuel Wardwell, Elizabeth Carey, Mary Parker, Sarah Wilson, Sarah Wilson jun., Sarah Bridges, Stephen Johnson, Mary Osgood, Eunice Frye, Mary Marston, wife of Hope Tyler, wife of Ebenezer Baker, wife of Nathan Dane, Mary Wardwell, William Barry, ——— Harrington, William Barker, Hannah Tyler, Abigail Baker, John Laundry, William Barker jun., Mary Barker, Martha Tyler, Joanna Tyler, Sarah Cave, John Bradstreet.*

* John Bradstreet was accused of bewitching a dog, but made his escape, — the dog was hung as a witch.

Children accused of Witchcraft. — John Laundry, aged ten years; Deborah Faulkner, ten years; Abigail Faulkner, eight years; Mary Lacy jun., fourteen years; Stephen Johnson, thirteen years; Abigail Johnson, eleven years; Sarah Carrier, eight years; Mary Bridges, twelve years; Dorothy Good, five years.

As the Court Records for 1692, have been lost, we do not know the place where Giles Cory was executed. We have been able to gather but very little in regard to the witchcraft delusion from aged persons, resident in what was once Salem Village.

About forty years ago there lived within the bounds of that village, an aged man of nearly one hundred years, who would talk freely of the Indian Wars, but could be induced to say but little concerning witchcraft. He said it was a distressing and fearful subject to talk about. He however frequently expressed the belief, that the devil stole the church book from Mr. Parris, and had it in his possession during the whole of the summer of 1692, and that it was only after a severe struggle the church recovered it again. In 1830 we examined these ancient records, and while copying a portion of them, could not but notice they were in a state of good preservation, considering in whose keeping they had been. In regard to the origin of Salem Witchcraft there have been many opinions. The one most common, and we think the most correct is, that it originated with children, through their love for sport and mischief. The testimony of Daniel Elliott, given in at the trial of Elizabeth Proctor was that she heard one of the accusing girls say, that she cried out against Goody Proctor for sport. "The girls (she added) must have some sport." She expressed without doubt the feeling of the whole circle of these youthful accusers. For a remarkable letter upon the detection of three children engaged in a supposed case of witchcraft in the year 1720, the reader is referred to the sixth page of the tenth volume of the second series of Massachusetts Historical Collections. It should be noticed that all the pretended spiritual manifestations of any note that have ever occurred in this country, had their origin with children and young persons.

We will conclude our notes by mentioning the assertion of Rev. Samuel Mather, son of Dr. Cotton Mather, made in the year 1728, in respect to the first edition of "More Wonders of the Invisible World." He says, (referring to Calef,) "there was a certain

disbeliever of Witchcraft, who wrote against his father's book the 'Wonders of the Invisible World,' but the *man* is dead, his book died long before him." Alas! for his hasty opinion. Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World," and Calef's reply to it, are now printed in one volume together; Calef's work has been printed four times.

Danvers, Sept. 1860. S. P. F.

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